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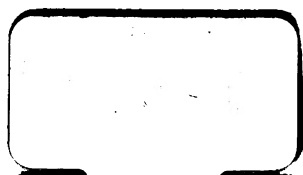
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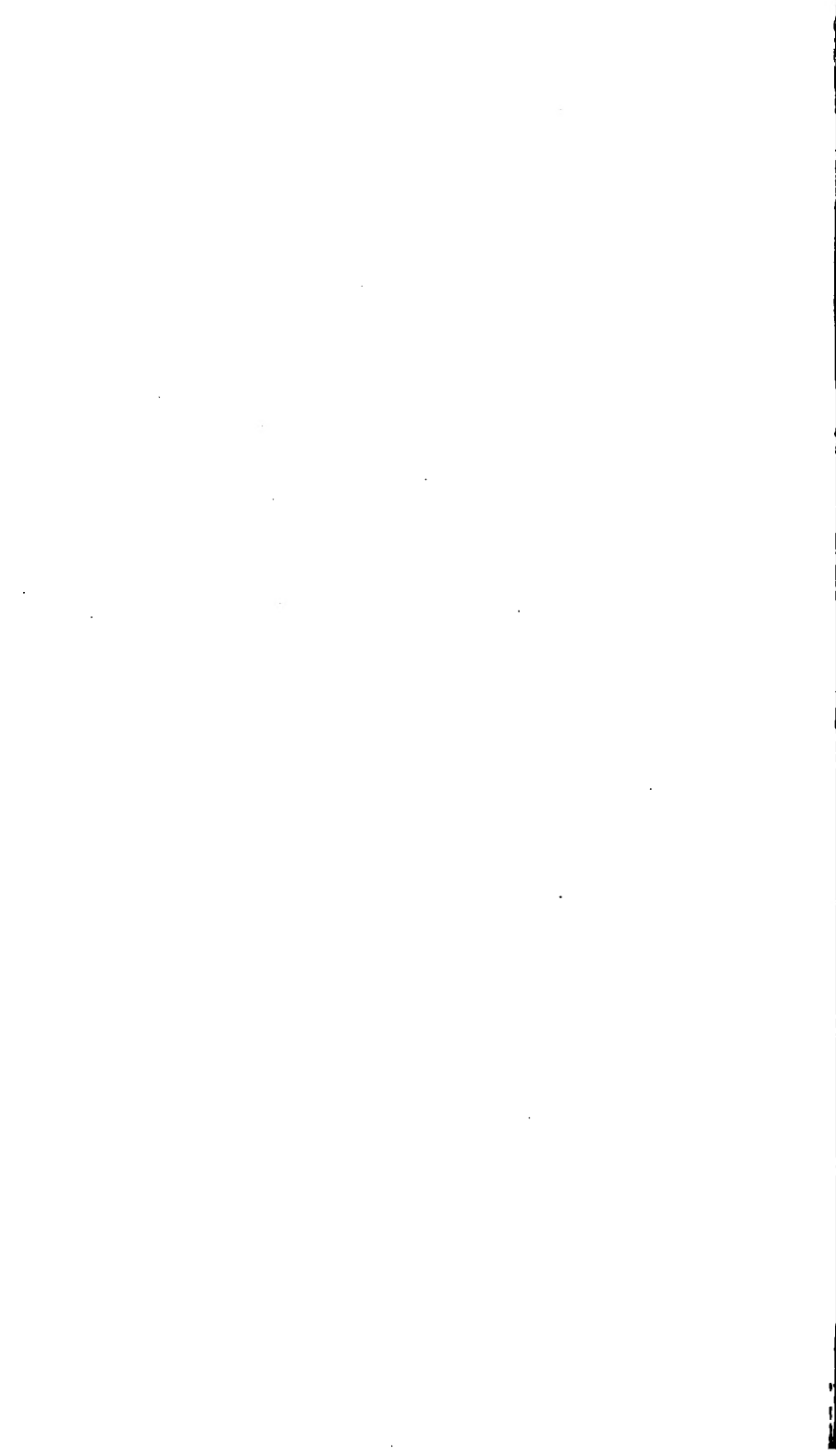
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NAVAL AND MILITARY
MEMOIRS
6433 OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM
1727 TO 1783.

BY
ROBERT BEATSON, Esq. L.L.D.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

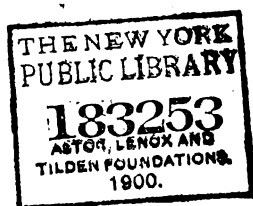
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Page 29	line 1	For "floop were" <i>read</i> "floop. These were."
44	— 14	from the bottom, for "fingled for" <i>read</i> "fingled out for."
55	— 17-18	after "action" <i>insert</i> "as"
311	— 6	<i>read</i> "at the head of the army."
318	— 13	from the bottom, <i>dele</i> "or."
526	— 22	for "appearing" <i>read</i> "appeared."
327	— 16	<i>dele</i> "they."
328	— 16	from the bottom, for "which" <i>read</i> "and he."
329	— 3	<i>dele</i> "he therefore."
331	— 19	<i>dele</i> "from the Delaware arrived at Sandy Hook."
383	— 10	<i>dele</i> "when" and for "de-fired her to hoist" <i>read</i> "de- "fired to hoist."
394	— 16	from the bottom, for "and the distance" <i>read</i> "and by "the distance."
395	— 21	for "have bombarded" <i>read</i> "to have bombarded."
411	— 17	from the bottom, <i>dele</i> "and."
411	— 12	from the bottom, <i>dele</i> "and."
415	— 16	from the bottom, for "might been" <i>read</i> "might have "been."
428	— 7	<i>dele</i> "the."
493	— 4	after "Carolina" <i>dele</i> "he."
500	— 18	for "whom" <i>read</i> "which."
543	— 3	after "and" <i>dele</i> "to."
556	— 11	from the bottom, for "who" <i>read</i> "which."
563	— 4	for "who" <i>read</i> "which."



NAVAL AND MILITARY
M E M O I R S

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

COMMENCING FROM THE PEACE OF FOUNTAINBLEAU
IN 1762.



1762.

NOTWITHSTANDING the very great success, which had attended our military operations in the course of the last years of the war, the Ministry were far from being popular with the nation in general. A most formidable party in Parliament was now formed against them: and as it was composed chiefly of the old whig families, who had been in power since the accession of the House of Hanover, and whom the people regarded as the guardians of public liberty, impressions were readily received against new men, whom they did not know, and in whom they could not confide. The kingdom was kept in a perpetual ferment, by means of periodical papers and pamphlets, in which the Ministry were plentifully abused, and their conduct represented in the very worst colours. Nor did the sacred person of his Majesty escape a share of the obloquy, which was so copiously bestowed on his servants. In the midst of this torrent of party rage, the Parliament met on the 26th of November; and a formidable opposition was expected, especially

cially when the subject of the peace should come into discussion. The King in his speech mentioned it in strong terms of praise, and expressed his hope that it would give his Parliament entire satisfaction. The conditions, he affirmed, were such, that there not only was an immense territory added to the Empire of Great Britain, but a solid foundation laid for an increase of trade and commerce; and the utmost care had been taken, to remove all occasions of future disputes between his subjects and those of France and Spain, whereby security and permanency were added to the blessings of peace. His Majesty concluded his speech in the following words:—"We could never have
"carried on this extensive war without the greatest union at
"home. You will find the same union peculiarly necessary,
"in order to make the best use of the great advantages acquir-
"ed by the peace, and to lay the foundation of that economy
"which we owe to ourselves, and to our posterity, and which
"alone can relieve this nation from the heavy burthens brought
"upon it, by the necessities of this long and expensive war."

The addresses which both Houses returned to his Majesty were replete with duty and loyalty, and gave as hearty an approbation of public measures as the Minister could have wished. The preliminary articles of peace having been by his Majesty's order laid before Parliament, their merits came to be discussed in both Houses on the 9th of December; and, as great debates were expected, an early and full attendance was given. In the House of Lords, the Duke of Newcastle made a long speech against the peace; but the person who assailed it with arguments of the greatest weight was the Duke of Grafton, who was particularly severe against the Minister, as the promoter of what he denominated scandalous and dishonourable terms. The Earl of Hardwicke also took the same side of the question. The Minister and his friends defended the terms of the peace with great ability and coolness; and when the question was about to be put, the Dukes of Cumberland, Devonshire, Grafton, and Newcastle, and the Earl of Hardwicke, finding all opposition in vain, left the House; by which means, the peace

was

was unanimously approved by the Lords. The triumph of the Minister was nearly as great in the House of Commons; where, it was thought, he had to dread not only the thunder of Mr. Pitt, but also the opposition of the Hon. Charles Townshend; who, a few days before, had resigned his employments. The chief attack, however, was made by Mr. Beckford, Lord Mayor of the city of London, and one of its representatives in Parliament, who, in opposition to his colleagues, severely censured the peace. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Townshend joined in approbation of it. About midnight, the question for the address was put, and carried by three hundred and nineteen voices against sixty-five.

Various cities and towns presented addresses to his Majesty on the peace; among others, one from the merchants of London was severely felt by the opposition, because the respectability and the numbers of those who subscribed it, afforded powerful evidence, that Government was at this time well supported, and their measures generally approved. The address of the city of London was vigorously opposed by the Lord Mayor and his adherents; but it was carried against them by a considerable majority: and upon the Chief Magistrate's obstinate refusal to present it, Sir Charles Asgill, as *locum tenens*, accompanied by many very respectable attendants, presented it to the King. This procession, as well as that of the merchants, was much insulted on its way to St. James's, by a low, and as was supposed, a hired mob.

In the course of this session, the Parliament voted 1,560,000*l.* for thirty thousand seamen, including a corps of marines, and for ordnance for the sea service during the current year: they also voted for building, rebuilding, and repairing his Majesty's ships, 100,000*l.*; and for paying off the debt of the navy, 3,075,316*l.* The sum total of the supplies granted this year, was 13,522,039*l.* 14*s.* 4½*d.*

From these liberal supplies, and the great majorities by which Administration carried all their measures in both Houses of Parliament, the resignation of the Minister was not expected

by the nation. But the violence of party rage had raised such a clamour against the Earl of Bute, that, on the 16th of April 1763, he resigned his office of First Lord of the Treasury; and at the same time, Sir Francis Dashwood resigned his offices of Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer. His Lordship was succeeded at the Treasury Board by the Honourable George Grenville, who was also appointed Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer. James Harris, Esq; had the other vacant seat at the Treasury Board; and on the 23d of May, his Majesty was pleased to appoint John Earl of Sandwich, George Hay, LL. D. Hans Stanley, Esq; John Lord Carysfort, Richard Viscount Howe, Henry Lord Digby, and Thomas Pitt, Esq; to be Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland.

Rear-Admiral Sir William Burnaby, in the Dreadnought, was sent to command his Majesty's ships on the Jamaica station; Admiral Tyrrell, in the Princess Louisa, to the Leeward Islands; Rear-Admiral Lord Colvil, in the Romney, to North America; Commodore Palliser, in the Guernsey, to Newfoundland; and Commodore Thomas Harrison, in the Centurion, to the Mediterranean. His Royal Highness the Duke of York designing to visit Portugal, Spain, and Italy, hoisted his flag on board this ship, and with the Commodore, sailed on the 23d of September from Plymouth for Lisbon, where he arrived the 3d of October, accompanied by the Thames frigate and Valeur sloop. His Royal Highness, who, on this occasion, was pleased to make use of his title of Earl of Ulster, met with great attention from the Court of Portugal. He sailed from thence and arrived at Gibraltar, where he was also received with every mark of respect due to his rank. Having completely viewed this extraordinary place, he proceeded on the 28th of October to the island of Minorca, and arrived there on the 11th of November. After inspecting the fortifications of the Castle of St. Philip's, he sailed on the 17th of the same month for Genoa, where he arrived on the 28th. Here his Royal Highness left the ship. He then went to Rome, and
from

from thence to Venice. At both places he was treated with the greatest respect; and every exertion was made to render his stay as agreeable as possible. In August 1764, he returned to Genoa; from which, on the 17th of that month, he sailed for Nice. From Nice, he proceeded through France: and embarking for Dover, he landed there on the 31st, and immediately set out for London.

His Majesty was pleased to appoint the Earl of Sandwich to be one of his Principal Secretaries of State, and John Earl of Egmont was nominated his successor as First Lord of the Admiralty.

Commodore Palliser was very active at his government of Newfoundland, and saw all the articles of the late treaty of peace, relative to the fishery there, properly fulfilled; which he did with such address, that the French, at the islands of Miquilon and St. Peter's, had no reason to be displeased with his conduct. In the West Indies, the same harmony did not subsist between the representatives of the two nations; and this is the less to be wondered at, when it becomes known, that the unprincipled Comte d'Estain was, at this time, Governor-General of St. Domingo. He, on the first of June this year, sent a ship of the line, accompanied by a snow, a sloop, and a xebecque, from Cape François to Turk's island, (See Note 1.) where about two hundred British subjects were employed in making salt. These were immediately driven from their salt-works by the French, their huts plundered, and themselves, with what vessels they had, about nine in number, carried to Cape François. There they were confined one night; and next day allowed to depart, but on the express condition of not returning to Turk's island. From the number of white inhabitants who went on this expedition, and the steps pursued by M. d'Estain, it appeared to be the design of the French to form a permanent settlement on this island.

When the British Ministry were informed of this infringement of the treaty of peace, a debate arose in Council, upon the measures necessary to be adopted with regard to France.

Upon this occasion, all present, with an exception of one only, were for making a mild remonstrance to the Court of Versailles : and their opinion was founded upon the apprehension, that a more spirited conduct might induce that Court to break the peace ; or, by some unforeseen means, precipitate the nation into measures, that would infallibly terminate in a recommencement of hostilities. The person who ventured to stand single in his opinion, was the late Right Honourable George Grenville ; a name as illustrious for acuteness of discernment and probity of intention, as any one that graces the records of the British Senate. With a becoming spirit, he urged the necessity of an opposite conduct, as the surest means of preserving the peace ; and, by his arguments convinced them, that France had been unable to continue the late war any longer ; that she was still incapable of entering upon another ; that, if we did not immediately shew a warm resentment of her behaviour on this occasion, she would repeat her insults, accompanied with menaces, which pride might induce her to realize ; and that silence, or tameness on the part of Britain, would infallibly lead to a rupture. The Council, impressed with the truth of these observations, delegated the whole management of this business to Mr. Grenville, who immediately sent for Count de Guerchy, the French Ambassador, and gave him to understand in plain terms, “ that the French forces, who had invaded and “ seized on Turk’s island, must immediately evacuate it, and “ restore it to the quiet possession of the British.” The Ambassador, in excuse for the conduct of his Court, alleged, that the King his Master had claims upon that island, and that he was ready to enter into a negotiation upon them. To this, Mr. Grenville peremptorily answered :—“ Whatever claims you “ may have, set them up : we will hear them : but first the “ island must and shall be restored. We will not hear of any “ claims, or of any negotiation, while it remains in possession of “ the French. It is absurd to seize the island, and then talk about “ claims. When it is restored to his Britannic Majesty, then, “ and not till then, will a single word about claims be heard or
“ ad-

“admitted.” He concluded, in a firm and determined manner, to this effect:—“Sir, I will wait nine days for your answer; in which time, you may send to and receive advice from your Court, whether the King your Master will immediately order his forces to evacuate Turk’s island, and restore it to the full and quiet possession of the British, or not: and if I do not receive your answer, at the end of that time, the fleet now lying at Spithead shall sail directly for the West Indies, to assert the rightful claims of Britain.” M. de Guerchy withdrew, and soon after returned to Mr. Grenville, to show him the dispatches he had prepared for his Court, in consequence of their conference; and Mr. Grenville gave him leave to insert in these dispatches, the conversation that had passed between them. The matter was speedily determined, as the messenger whom the Ambassador had sent to Paris, returned to London on the sixth day, and brought with him a copy of the orders, signed by the French Monarch, for restoring the island to the British, as had been required. Thus, did the spirited conduct of an able Minister, by bringing the point in dispute to an immediate issue, not only ensure the continuance of peace, and establish the honour of his country; but also, obtain the full indemnification to the British subjects, for the losses they had sustained by the capture of Turk’s island by the French. For this purpose, estimates were ordered to be made out; and the business was afterwards adjusted, by the Governor of Jamaica and the Governor of St. Domingo.

The general run of events which occur in time of profound peace vary so little, that a recital of them becomes tiresome: and few or none of them appear of any great importance. But trifling as they may then seem to be, they are frequently followed by a train of consequences, which unperceived, unite, and gradually form the basis of the most momentous concerns, agitating not only particular kingdoms and states, but also whole continents. This observation was strongly evinced, by some measures which were this year adopted by the British Ministry. The general peace, which was at this time established through-

out Europe, and for the happiness of mankind, extended its influence over all the other quarters of the world, was very favourable to a design which his Britannic Majesty had long formed, of sending some vessels under the command of intelligent and enterprising officers, to explore such parts of the globe as were imperfectly known, and if possible to ascertain the truth of geographical opinions, which were by many considered as chimerical or at best problematical†. These voyagers, besides their design of making new discoveries, and of ascertaining with more precision those already made, had it also in view to search for objects which might enlarge or improve our commerce.

The first who was sent on this service was the Honourable Captain John Byron, in his Majesty's ship the *Dolphin* of twenty guns, accompanied by the *Tamer* sloop, commanded by Captain Patrick Mowat. Besides other instructions, Captain Byron had orders to make an accurate survey of such islands as lay to the eastward of the coast of the most southerly part of the continent of South America. This led him to examine with great attention Falkland's islands: and from the favourable report which he made of them on his return, measures were pursued by Administration, which, by their consequences, had nearly involved the country in a war with Spain. These will be considered in their proper place.

1765.

THE next event which falls under our notice, and which was followed by consequences of still greater importance, was the

† As it would be foreign to the plan of this work to follow these navigators, or to give a full account of all the particulars of their several voyages, which were undertaken by order of government from the year 1764 to 1793, and as many discoveries important to navigation were made in consequence of these laudable enterprizes, the reader who may chuse to peruse it, is referred to a brief account of them at the end of the appendix. He will there find that, by their means, more useful geographical knowledge had been acquired during the period above mentioned, than by all the other nations of Europe since the days of Columbus.

the taxation of the British American Colonies by the famous Stamp Act. Without entering into any detail of the arguments which were adduced, in support either of the measures of Government, or of the claims of the Colonies, it will be sufficient to observe, that the party called the Opposition, availed themselves of the discontent which the stamp act had occasioned in America, to reprobate the conduct of the Ministry; and that the Americans were encouraged by the debates in the British Parliament to persist in their complaints, and to urge their demands of redress. In the month of July, Mr. Grenville and his friends found it necessary or thought it expedient to resign their places, and were succeeded by the following Noblemen and Gentlemen, who formed the new Administration, viz. the Marquis of Rockingham, First Lord of the Treasury; William Dowdeswell, Esq; Chancellor of the Exchequer: the Duke of Grafton and General Conway, Secretaries of State; the Earl of Winchelsea, President of the Council; and the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Privy Seal. The Earl of Northington, Lord Chancellor; and the Earl of Egmont, First Lord of the Admiralty, remained in office.

During the Administration of Mr Grenville, the Spanish Governor of Yucatan, Don Philip Ramirez d'Estin, had driven away by force, the British settlers and logwood-cutters in the Bay of Honduras. As soon as the Minister was informed of this aggression, orders were sent to the Earl of Rochfort, the British Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, to make the most spirited demand for redress. This demand was immediately complied with by his Catholic Majesty, who, in the most explicit terms, disapproved of the Governor of Yucatan's proceedings, and sent an order for the British subjects to be reinstated in their possessions, agreeable to treaty. A duplicate of this order was sent out to Rear-Admiral Sir William Burnaby, Baronet, commanding his Majesty's squadron on the Jamaica station. He accordingly sailed in the Active frigate for the Spanish Main: and, in a letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated off the river Balize, in the Bay of Honduras,
March

March 26th, 1765, informed him, that he had seen the logwood-cutters reinstated at Rowley's Bite, the New River, and Ria Honda, by the Commandant of Bacalar, in terms of an order which he had received from the Governor of Yucatan. At the same time, Sir William received a most polite letter from Don Alvarez, the successor of Don Ramirez d'Estinaz as Governor of Yucatan, wherein he assured him, that the King his Master disapproved of the late Governor's conduct, in disturbing the logwood-cutters, and for the future they should be treated with the utmost politeness, and left at liberty to use that trade without being incommoded, and that no extortion should be practised on any British subject. This matter being settled, Sir William Burnaby proceeded to regulate the logwood-cutters, and fixed the limits of their trade up the rivers, according to the treaties with the Spaniards: he also drew up a code of regulations for their police among the Baymen themselves, and put the settlement on a most respectable footing: Sir William Burnaby having finished all his business on this part of the coast, returned to Jamaica, taking with him the troops he had brought from that island, for reinstating the Baymen, in case the Spaniards had proved refractory.

The guardships last year and this were chiefly employed in transporting troops to and from the island of Minorca, Gibraltar, the West Indies, and North America; his Majesty having formed a plan of relieving such regiments as were employed on foreign service, by which the whole of them should have their turns of that service by rotation.

The Parliament met December the 17th, and the new Ministry, to reconcile their conduct to the language which they had advanced while in opposition, brought in a bill for repealing the Stamp Act in *America*, which was passed into a law. But in the same session of Parliament, they also passed the Declaratory Act, and thereby destroyed every pretension to popularity among the Americans, which the repeal of the stamp act was probably intended to produce; the Americans regarding the declaration of what they considered as an assumed power, to be
equally

equally injurious to them with its actual exertion. And his Majesty's Ministers had the mortification to find, in the answers which came to the official letters of the Secretary of State, respecting the repeal of the stamp act, that this boasted concession had been received in America, with a coldness that bordered on contempt.

1766.

THIS Administration did not continue long in power, a new one being appointed July 1766, at the head of which the great Mr. William Pitt was supposed to stand, although he had only the office of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He was on this occasion created Earl of Chatham. The Duke of Grafton was placed at the head of the Treasury: and the Honourable Charles Townshend was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Earl of Shelburne and General Conway were appointed Secretaries of State; but the General remained in office only until December, when he was succeeded by Lord Viscount Weymouth.

On the 16th of September, his Majesty was pleased to appoint the following Admiralty Board: Sir Charles Saunders, K. B. Honourable Augustus Keppel, Charles Townshend, Esq; Sir William Meredith, Bart. John Buller, Esq; Henry Viscount Palmerston, and Sir George Yonge, Bart.: and on the 13th of December, he appointed a new Board of Admiralty, consisting of Admiral Sir Edward Hawke, K. B. Charles Townshend, John Buller, Esqrs. Henry Viscount Palmerston, Sir George Yonge, Bart. Rear-Admiral Sir Piercy Brett, Knt. and Charles Jenkinson, Esq.

The Honourable Captain Byron returned this year from his voyage round the world; and from the report he made of the harbour of Port Egmont in Falkland's islands, Captain John Macbride in the *Jason*, accompanied by two sloops and a store-ship, was, soon after his arrival, sent to take possession of that place, and to form a settlement there: such a measure having, it

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is said, been strongly recommended by the late Lord Anson. Nor was the design of making more discoveries laid aside, the Dolphin was again fitted out, her bottom sheathed with copper, and the command of her given to Captain Samuel Wallis, who, accompanied by the Swallow sloop of war, Captain Philip Carteret, sailed for the South Seas. The flag-officers commanding his Majesty's ships on foreign stations were relieved by the following officers: Sir William Burnaby on the Jamaica station, by Rear-Admiral Parry, in the Preston of fifty guns; Rear-Admiral Tyrrell at the Leeward islands, by Vice-Admiral Pyc, in the Pembroke of sixty guns; Commodore Harrison, in the Mediterranean, by Commodore Richard Spry, in the Jersey of sixty guns; Lord Colvil, on the North American station, by Vice-Admiral Durell, in the Launceston of forty-four guns. Admiral Durell dying soon after he arrived at Halifax, was succeeded in his command by Commodore Samuel Hood, in the Romney of fifty guns. Commodore Palliser was continued in his command at the Newfoundland station.

In consequence of a petition from the Lieutenants of the Royal Navy on half-pay, presented to the House of Commons by the Hon. Captain Hervey this year, the House came to the resolution of presenting an address to his Majesty, requesting that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to take into consideration, the case of the Lieutenants of the Navy on half-pay, and to make such further provision for so deserving and useful a body of men, (not exceeding one shilling a-day,) over and above their present half-pay, (two shillings) as his Majesty in his wisdom shall think fit; and assuring his Majesty, that the House would make good the same.

1767.

ON the 17th of September this year, his Royal Highness Edward Augustus, Duke of York, next brother to the King, died at Monaco in Italy. He was born March the 14th, 1739; and,

and, in March 1760, created Duke of York and Albany. In 1761, he was made a Rear-Admiral of the Blue; and in 1762, Vice-Admiral of the Blue. His Royal Highness had been much fatigued by his journey through the south of France, and particularly by visiting the port and fortifications of Toulon, which took him two days in the hottest weather of the season. Immediately after this, on Thursday, September the 3d, he embarked at Antibes for Genoa; but finding himself extremely heated and out of order, he was prevailed on to put into Monaco, where he instantly took his bed. At first, his disorder seemed to give way to the remedies which were applied; but on the 9th he relapsed. He gave orders, that in the event of his disease increasing, Doctor James's Powder should be given him. They were accordingly administered to him on the tenth, and, on every repetition of them he felt some relief, until a very few days before his death, when there appeared symptoms of a mortification of his bowels, which terminated his life.

During the course of his painful illness, he behaved with the greatest fortitude and resignation. The Prince of Monaco paid all possible honours to his deceased guest. The body lay in state, attended by his Highness's guards, until Sunday, September 20th, when it was carried in grand procession from the palace to the beach. There it was received by Commodore Spry, and put on board his long-boat; where a canopy covered with black was prepared for its reception, and the Royal Standard was hoisted half-staff up. This boat, with the mutes in it, was towed by the Captains barges, and followed by the Commodore's barge, which contained his Royal Highness's servants, and by two more barges for the remaining officers. From the time when the procession set out, the Montreal frigate, to which the body was to be conveyed, fired minute guns until it was received on board, when the Royal Standard was hoisted half-staff up, and the minute guns ceased. The Prince of Monaco continued at the water-side until the body was on board. The garrison then fired two rounds of cannon, and the regiment two rounds of running fire. The Montreal immediately
failed

failed for England, and arrived at St. Helen's on the 28th of October, and on the 30th at the Nore; where she was met by his Majesty's yacht the *Mary*, on board of which his Royal Highness's corpse was put. On the second of November it was landed at Greenwich, from whence it was conveyed in a hearse, in grand procession, to the Prince's Chamber, Whitehall. During the remainder of that day, it lay there in state; and on the third, at ten o'clock at night, was privately interred in the royal vault in K. Henry VII's Chapel. The body was covered with a holland sheet, and a black velvet pall, adorned with eight escutcheons of his Royal Highness's arms, under a canopy of black velvet. The pall was supported by Lords Le Despencer, Bottetourt, Bruce, and Boston, two on each side. The canopy was supported by eight Admirals, four on a side, in their uniform coats, black waistcoats, and crapes in their hats and on their arms. These were Sir Edward Hawke, K. B.; the Duke of Bolton; Sir Charles Saunders, K. B.; Francis Geary, Esq; Thomas Frankland, Esq; Sir Charles Hardy, Knt.; Sir Samuel Cornish, Bart.; and Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart.: his Grace the Duke of Grafton was chief mourner. He was dressed in a long black cloak, and his train was borne by Sir Peter Denis, Bart. His supporters were the Dukes of Montagu and Northumberland, also in black cloaks; and his assistants were the Earls of Huntingdon, Denbigh, Peterborough, Litchfield, Pomfret, Orford, Harcourt, and Delawar.

In September this year, a partial change of Administration took place, and some friends of the Duke of Bedford came into office. Lord North succeeded the late Mr. Charles Townshend, as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Earl Gower was made President of the Council: soon after, General Conway was succeeded as Secretary of State by Viscount Weymouth.

On the 28th of July this year, the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty signified his Majesty's pleasure, that the embroidered uniform cloathing, appointed to be worn by Flag-Officers, and the full-dress uniform cloathing, appointed to be worn by Captains, Commanders, and Lieutenants of his Majesty's fleet, be
discon-

discontinued ; and that the frock uniform cloathing, appointed also to be worn by the said officers, be altered as follows.

The Admirals frocks to have narrow lappels down to the waist ; small boot cuffs ; a single lace instead of treble lace down the side skirts ; to be laced with plain mousquetaire lace, agreeable to the pattern lodged at the navy office ; and in all other respects to be the same as now worn.

The Captains and Commanders frocks to have narrow lappels down to the waist ; and in all other respects to continue as they are now worn.

The Lieutenants frocks to have narrow lappels down to the waist ; slash cuffs like the Commanders, (without lace) instead of roll cuffs ; and in all other respects to continue as they are now worn.

In the course of the year 1767, two acts of Parliament had been passed in England, which related to America : the first, imposing certain duties on glass, painter's colours, and teas imported into that country ; and the second, appointing Commissioners of the Customs to be resident there. These laws did not fail to aggravate the spirit of discontent and opposition, which had already been roused in America, and which became most ungovernable in the town of Boston in New England.

1768.

AT Charlestown, in South Carolina, it had become the common practice, for vessels to omit calling at the Custom-house for the necessary papers, either at coming into port, or going out of it ; and the officers, who knew that this practice was contrary to the law, were either fearful to resist, or unable to prevent it. But Captain Hawker, of his Majesty's sloop the *Sardoine*, being stationed here, and having resolved, that the masters of vessels should no longer proceed in this manner with impunity, seized a schooner which had not a single paper on board. This measure not only enraged all the mercantile people there,

there, as it was a common cause with them, but it went farther. Even the lawyers of the province positively declared, that they would not be employed on the part of the King, but would readily plead for the opposite side. The Collector of his Majesty's Customs incurred the displeasure of the merchants, by becoming surety for Captain Hawker's carrying on the prosecution; and by declaring, that he would not in future overlook such glaring irregularities in trade: so far did they carry their resentment, as to contribute money for conducting prosecutions against the Collector. The mob threatened destruction to Captain Hawker and his crew, if they should persist in examining their vessels; but the Captain disregarded their threats, and acted with such spirit, as compelled them to provide themselves with the necessary papers from the Custom-house.

In the autumn of this year, a change in Administration took place. The Earl of Chatham, finding that he did not possess that power in the Cabinet, to which he thought himself entitled as Minister, resigned his office of Lord Privy Seal; and the Earl of Shelburne, one of the Secretaries of State, followed his example. The Earl of Chatham was succeeded in office by the Earl of Bristol; the Earl of Shelburne, by Lord Viscount Weymouth in the Southern, and Lord Weymouth by the Earl of Rochfort, in the Northern Department. As the affairs of the Colonies were every day becoming more important, it was found expedient to appoint a Secretary of State for the American Department, and this office was conferred on the Earl of Hillsborough, who also presided as first Commissioner of Trade and Plantations.

A relief of the flag-officers on several stations took place this year. Commodore Arthur Forrest was sent to command his Majesty's ships at Jamaica; Commodore Man to the Leeward Islands; and Commodore Proby to the Mediterranean.

Great complaints having come from the East Indies of misconduct in the servants of the East India Company, the Directors adopted the resolution of sending out three Supervisors, vested with the most ample authority, to make enquiries into all abuses

abuses committed there, and to redress grievances. The gentlemen named to these confidential appointments were Henry Vanfittart, Luke Scrafton, and John Ford, Esqrs. They embarked with their retinue on board his Majesty's ship *Aurora*, and got safe to the Cape of Good Hope; but after their departure from thence, no accounts of them were ever received. The general conjecture concerning their unfortunate fate was, that the vessel must have been consumed by fire. Sir John Lindsay made all possible search for them, at every place where he thought they might have been shipwrecked, but without effect.*

The Directors of the East India Company requested Government, to send some ships of the line to protect their settlements in India; and Lord Viscount Weymouth, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, wrote to them, that their request would be complied with; but that his Majesty expected, that the Commander in Chief of his squadron in India should have a voice in all Councils where peace or war was to be debated: on the receipt of this letter, the Directors called a Court of Proprietors, where, after much debate, it was resolved by one hundred and seventy-seven votes against ninety-five, that the Commander in Chief of such squadron should not have a voice with regard to peace or war. His Majesty therefore countermanded the order for equipping the ships of the line destined for this service; but a small squadron of frigates, (See Note 3.) of which the *Aurora* was to compose a part, was sent in their place, under Commodore Sir John Lindsay, who, while he commanded in India, was made a Knight of the Honourable Order of the Bath.

His Majesty was pleased to order his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to be promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and that he might be instructed in the evolutions of a fleet, he hoisted his flag on board the *Venus* frigate, and put to sea on the 15th of June, with a squadron of small ships.—(See Note 4.) After cruising for some weeks in the Channel, he returned to Spithead.

* Mr. William Falconer, the Author of the *Marine Dictionary*, and of the beautiful Poem the *Shipwreck*, was Purser of this unfortunate ship.

1769.

MEDITERRANEAN.

The Montreal and Carysfort frigates, commanded by Captains Cosby and Vandeput, being at Leghorn on the 17th of April, when the Emperor of Germany, and his brother the Grand Duke of Tuscany, arrived there; the Governor of the place sent notice to Sir John Dick, his Majesty's Consul, that these great personages intended, as soon as they had dined, to go on board the frigates. Of this Sir John immediately informed the two Captains, and presently after went himself on board the Montreal, which got under way and stood close in-shore, in order to receive these illustrious visitors, who were conducted on board in barges. As soon as they reached the quarter-deck of the Montreal, both frigates fired a salute of twenty-one guns. They continued on board near two hours, during which time Captain Cosby kept his ship under sail, and on passing by the Carysfort, she also got under way, and accompanied the Montreal. Their Highnesses expressed great satisfaction with the entertainment they received on board the frigates, and the Grand Duke introduced Sir John Dick to his Imperial Majesty. When these illustrious visitors had got into their barges, and were rowing to the shore, the frigates fired a salute as they had done when they came on board. Next day, the two Captains landed at Leghorn, and were presented by Sir John Dick to his Imperial Majesty and the Grand Duke.

AFRICA.

The following melancholy affair happened on the coast of Africa. In consequence of orders given to the commanding officer of his Majesty's ships on this station, to search for and take possession of the island of Arguin; he sent Captain Francis O'Hara of his Majesty's sloop the Cygnet on this service; who, leaving his ship off Cape Blanco, proceeded in an armed tender, provided for the purpose, and steered close along shore,

shore, in hopes of falling in with the island. On the 11th of June he met with a boat, in which were some Moors, who, discovering by the colours that the tender was British, came on board, assuring Captain O'Hara of their friendship; and upon learning what was the object of his search, they proffered to conduct him to the island of Arguin. Their offer was accepted, and they reached the island on the 14th. The tender having anchored about three hundred yards from the shore, Captain O'Hara, attended by five or six of his crew, landed in a small boat, leaving orders with the commanding officer on board, to be in readiness with his guns and small arms to fire, in case he should be attacked by the natives; and fixing the signal for so doing to be the discharge of a pistol. Captain O'Hara, on his landing, was received with great civility by the natives; to whom he said, that he had come by order of the King his Master to visit the island, and to hoist British colours on an old ruined fort; assuring them, that he did not intend the least harm to them by so doing. They appeared not to relish the proposal of hoisting the colours, and made some little bustle; but on being informed by the Captain that the King his Master had sent them some presents, which were in the ship, and which he requested them to come on board and see, they became pacified, and in great numbers ran to the beach to launch their boats and canoes, to accompany him. The commanding officer of the tender, upon seeing this multitude of the natives, and not observing Captain O'Hara among them, thought they were coming to attack him, and unfortunately gave orders to fire all his guns and small arms; by which above twenty of the natives were killed, and many more wounded. He then ordered the cable to be cut, and made off with all possible speed. On this, the natives attacked Captain O'Hara, who was slightly wounded before he had time to surrender himself. The Captain and his men were made prisoners, and carried up the country; and although he soon convinced the natives that he was not to blame, his vexation of mind produced a fever, which, from want of proper assistance, carried him off in a few days. Had he survived, he would have

been taken to Senegal, as his people were, and there ransomed. Some unhappy mistake produced this fatal event. The commanding officer on board declared, that he heard the report of a pistol; on which he gave orders to fire. He was tried by a Court-martial and acquitted.

1770.

THE disputes with our American colonies unfortunately continued still to increase this year; and an affair, trifling in itself, had nearly involved Great Britain in a war with Spain. A change took place in the Ministry, but none in the measures pursued with respect to America. The Duke of Grafton resigned his office of First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury; and on the 28th of January, Lord North was appointed his successor. On the 12th of April, a bill repealing the duties on painter's colours and glass, imported into North America, received the royal assent; but this bill left the duty of threepence per pound on tea to operate as an internal tax, and it is to be lamented that this clause should have remained.

Governor Bernard by his Majesty's order returned to England, and was followed home by a number of complaints from the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay. During his absence, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Hutchison presided in the colony.

On the 26th of October, his Majesty was pleased to appoint Thomas Hutchison, Esq; to be Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, in the room of Sir Francis Bernard, Bart.; Andrew Oliver, Esq; to be Lieutenant-Governor, and Thomas Flucker, Esq; to be Secretary.

On the 24th of February, Lord Viscount Lisburne, Francis Holburne, Esq; and the Honourable Charles James Fox, were made Commissioners of the Admiralty, in room of Charles Townshend, Esq; Sir George Yonge, Bart. and Sir Piercy Brett, Knt.; and in December this year, George Earl of Halifax

was made Lord Privy Seal, in the room of the Earl of Bristol; and John Earl of Sandwich one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, in room of Lord Weymouth.

It was mentioned, that a rupture with Spain had very nearly taken place, from the following cause. Commodore Byron having, on his return from his voyage round the world, made a favourable report of a harbour he had discovered at the Malouin or Falkland's islands, situated not far distant from the eastern entry of the Straits of Magellan in South America, which he named Port Egmont, in honour of the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Captain Macbride in the Jason frigate, attended by two sloops and a storeship, was soon after sent to take possession of it. The storeship carried out stores, some cannon, and a portable blockhouse, which had been constructed at Deptford, and which admitted of being taken to pieces and put on shipboard. After Captain Macbride's return, some sloops of war were occasionally sent thither. At the distance of a few months after the British had taken possession of Port Egmont, the French made a sort of settlement on the east part of the same island, about thirty leagues from the British, which they called Port Louis; but finding it of no material advantage, they resigned it to the Spaniards, who named it La Solidad.

In autumn 1769, there were three sloops of war stationed here, viz. the Tamer, Favourite, and Swift, commanded by Captains Hunt, Maltby, and Farmer. The Tamer being on a cruize, fell in with a small vessel called the St. Philip, belonging to the King of Spain, which was taking a survey of the islands. Captain Hunt warned the commander of the Spanish vessel to quit the islands, as they belonged to the King of Great Britain; upon which he departed: but in two days after, he rejoined the Tamer, at a harbour in the island on which La Solidad is situated, and brought an officer along with him, who was charged with two letters from the Governor of the Spanish settlement to Captain Hunt. This officer had orders to protest against Captain Hunt, for having obliged the St.

Philip to retire a few days before; and also, to require the British to quit the islands in six months, as they belonged to his Master the King of Spain. Soon after, two frigates from Buenos Ayres, having troops on board for the Spanish settlement at La Solidad, arrived at Port Egmont. They pretended to be in want of water; mutual civilities passed; and when supplied with water, they departed. Captain Hunt on this came home in the Tamer, to report what had happened. He arrived on the 3d of June, 1770, in Plymouth. On the 22d of September, the Favourite sloop arrived at Spithead. In the Favourite came passenger Captain Farmer, who had the misfortune to lose his ship the Swift; (See Note 5.) and who by letter informed the Secretary of the Admiralty, that on the fourth of June, a Spanish frigate called the Industry, had anchored in the harbour of Port Egmont; that her Commander had said that he was on his voyage to Port Solidad, but having been fifty-three days from Buenos Ayres, was in want of water; that on the seventh, four more Spanish frigates arrived, and a broad pendant was hoisted on board the Industry: and having discovered that the intention of the Spaniards was to dispossess the British of this settlement, he landed the crew of the late Swift sloop to defend the blockhouse, and ordered Captain Maltby to anchor the Favourite as near it as he could with safety. But finding, from the ruinous condition of the fortifications, and the smallness of the force which he had to defend them, that he could make no effectual opposition to such an armament, he had requested and obtained a capitulation.*

When this transaction was laid before the public, and they learned, that the Spaniards had not only presumed to fire on one of his Majesty's ships, but had the insolence to detain her twenty days after they had obtained possession of Port Egmont, and to enforce this detention, had ordered her rudder to be brought on shore; the whole kingdom was incensed, and called loudly

* For an account of the Spanish force and terms of this capitulation, together with the correspondence that took place between the commanding officers, vide Appendix. (Note 6.)

loudly on Administration for redress. The Spanish Court had been early apprized of this affair, by letters from M. Bucarelli, the Governor of Buenos Ayres; who, on the return of the two first frigates to that place, had immediately prepared an armament of considerable force to dispossess the British of their settlement at Falkland's island, without so much as waiting for the King of Spain's orders on this head. At least so the Spanish Ministry averred; and the British Court was willing to admit this representation, which afforded them an opportunity of getting rid of a disagreeable business in a handsome manner: if the Spaniards were not determined, at all events, to come to an open rupture. A negotiation was accordingly begun; but that, if this measure should fail of producing the wished for accommodation, we might be prepared to meet the worst, rendezvous for insisting seamen to man his Majesty's ships were, on the 20th of August, opened at London, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and the other principal seaports of the kingdom; sixteen ships of the line, and several frigates, were put in commission, (See Note 7.) and a great augmentation was made to the land forces.

Upon this occasion, his Majesty thought proper to appoint the following promotion of Flag-Officers, which took place on the 18th of October, viz,

Honourable John Forbes
Francis Holburne, Esq;

} Admirals of the White.

Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart.
Harry Duke of Bolton
Sir Charles Hardy, Knight
George Earl of Northesk
Rt. Hon. Sir C. Saunders, K. B.

} Admirals of the Blue.

Thomas Pye, Esq;
Sir Samuel Cornish, Bart.
Francis Geary, Esq;

} Vice-Admirals of the Red.

Sir Geo. Brydges Rodney, Bart.
Sir William Burnaby, Bart.
James Young, Esq;

} Vice-Admirals of the White.

Sir Piercy Brett, Knight	}	Vice-Admirals of the Blue.
Sir John Moore, Bart.		
Sir James Douglas, Knight		
Sir John Bentley, Knight		
George Lord Edgcumbe	}	Rear-Admirals of the Red.
Samuel Graves, Esq;		
William Parry, Esq;		
Honourable Augustus Keppel		
John Amherst, Esq;	}	Rear-Admirals of the White.
His R. H. Henry Frederick,		
Duke of Cumberland		

And the following Captains to be Flag-Officers, viz.

Sir Peter Denis, Bart.	}	Rear-Admirals of the White.
Matthew Buckle, Esq;		
Robert Man, Esq;	}	Rear-Admirals of the Blue.
Richard Spry, Esq;		
Robert Harland, Esq;		
Richard Lord Viscount Howe		

Several Captains, having been passed over in the above promotion, gave in a memorial to his Majesty, stating their services, and the hardship of this supercession; when his Majesty being fully satisfied with the justness of their claims, was pleased, on the 24th of October, to order the following further promotion to take place, viz.

Sir Geo. Brydges Rodney, Bart.	}	Vice-Admirals of the Red.
Sir William Burnaby, Bart.		
Sir Piercy Brett, Knt.	}	Vice-Admirals of the White.
Sir John Moore, Bart. and K. B.		
Sir James Douglas, Knt.	}	Vice-Admirals of the Blue.
Sir John Bentley, Knt.		
George Lord Edgcumbe		
Samuel Graves, Esq;		
William Parry, Esq;		
Hon. Augustus Keppel		
John Amherst, Esq;		
His R. H. Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland		

And

And the following Captains to be Flag-Officers, viz.*

Robert Hughes, Esq;	Rear-Admiral of the Red.
Clark Gayton, Esq;	} Rear-Admirals of the White.
John Barker, Esq;	
Lucius O'Brien, Esq;	
John Montagu, Esq;	} Rear-Admirals of the Blue.
Thomas Craven, Esq;	
James Sayer, Esq;	

And to rank as such with officers of the same flag, according to their seniority as Captains. The Hon. Captain Samuel Barrington succeeded Lord Viscount Howe, as Colonel of Marines. Commodore Byron was made Governor of Newfoundland.

It was much suspected that the French Ministry, who were known to be inclined to war, were interfering in the negotiation, and endeavouring to draw the Spanish Court into their views; as Prince Masserano, the Catholic King's Ambassador in London, was observed about the beginning of November to change his language. For some time, the treaty of accommodation was in suspense, and the nation expected that orders would be given for a commencement of hostilities. More ships were accordingly put in commission; instructions were given to fit up several three-decked ships for the reception of flags, even the

* This last promotion made the Rear-Admirals rank as follows:

Sir Peter Denis, Bart.	} Rear-Admirals of the Red.
Robert Hughes, Esq;	
Matthew Buckle, Esq;	
Robert Man, Esq;	
Clark Gayton, Esq;	} Rear-Admirals of the White.
John Barker, Esq;	
Richard Spry, Esq;	
Lucius O'Brien, Esq;	
John Montagu, Esq;	} Rear-Admirals of the Blue.
Thomas Craven, Esq;	
Robert Harland, Esq;	
James Sayer, Esq;	
Richard Viscount Howe	

the Admirals were named for the different commands, and Sir James Harris, (now Earl of Malmesbury) who was the British Minister at the Court of Madrid, had orders to take leave and withdraw: in short, every thing indicated an immediate war. (See Note 8.) But all of a sudden the negotiation was renewed; and soon after, the Prince Masserano signed a Declaration, which was accepted by the Court of London.—(See Note 10.) The preservation of peace, on this occasion, was entirely owing to the late King of France. The Spanish courier with the King of Spain's ultimatum, having been directed to take Paris in his way to London, the King of France, who began to suspect that his Ministers were exceeding his orders, examined the dispatches himself; and a change in the French Ministry immediately succeeded. The Dukes of Choiseul and Praslin, who had long directed the French affairs, were disgraced. The courier was sent back to Madrid, with a letter to the King of Spain written by the King of France's own hand; wherein he advised his Catholic Majesty to remain at peace with Great Britain: but in case he was determined against following this advice, he assured him, that he must expect no assistance from France; as his resolution was, to take no part in the war. This had the desired effect, and once more brought the Spaniards to reason.

1771.

THE disputes between Great Britain and the North American Colonies still run very high, and the ferment was in no place so great as at the town of Boston in New England. The Assembly of the province of Massachusetts Bay, by some of their resolves, shewed how much they were displeased with the laws made by the Parliament of Great Britain: and at Boston, it was resolved not to receive any tea from England, until the duty laid on it should be repealed.

A squadron was sent to the East Indies, under the command
of

of Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Harland; (See Note 9.) another to Jamaica, under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart. : (See Note 10.) and a small squadron, under the command of Captain Stot in the *Juno*, was dispatched to receive Port Egmont from the Spaniards. (See Note 11.) It arrived off that place in the evening of the 13th of September; and Captain Stot next morning observing Spanish colours flying, and troops on shore, sent a Lieutenant to know if there was any officer there, empowered by his Catholic Majesty to make restitution of the place to him, agreeable to the instructions which he had received from his Britannic Majesty for that purpose; duplicates of which he was ready to deliver to the person who was properly instructed and empowered to receive them. He was answered, that Don Francisco de Orduna, a Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery of Spain, was furnished with full powers, and ready to effect the restitution. Don Francisco soon after came on board the *Juno*; when Captain Stot delivered to him his Catholic Majesty's orders. They then proceeded to make the necessary arrangements; and having examined into the situation of the settlement and stores, and interchanged inventories, on Monday the 16th of September Captain Stot landed, followed by a party of marines, and was received by the Spanish officer, who formally restored Falkland island, Port Egmont, its fort, and other dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: this was announced by hoisting his Majesty's colours on the fort. The next day Don Francisco, with all the troops and subjects of the King of Spain, departed in a schooner for Buenos Ayres.

Rear-Admiral Sir Peter Denis was appointed to the command of his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, as was Rear-Admiral Montagu to those on the North American station: and a squadron of guardships was sent to sea to cruise for a few weeks, under the command of Rear-Admiral Spry. On the 26th of January this year, his Majesty was pleased to appoint John Earl of Sandwich to be First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, in place of Sir Edward Hawke. George Earl
of

of Halifax was appointed one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and Henry Earl of Suffolk, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Earl of Halifax dying, his Majesty on the 12th of June appointed the Earl of Suffolk, Secretary of State; and the Duke of Grafton, Lord Privy Seal.

1772.

On the 24th of June, his Majesty was pleased to appoint William Earl of Dartmouth to be Secretary of State for the American Department, in room of the Earl of Hillsborough.

In consequence of a revolution, which happened in January, at the Court of Denmark, a separation took place between his Danish Majesty and his Queen, sister to our most gracious Sovereign; and her Majesty having resolved to quit the Danish dominions, and reside at Zell in the Electorate of Hanover, a small squadron, (See Note 12.) under the command of Captain Macbride, was sent to conduct her from the Castle of Cronstade, near Elfsineur, to Stade. When the squadron came to anchor, the Castle saluted them with a triple discharge from twenty-seven pieces of cannon, which salute was immediately returned. Her Majesty embarked on board of Captain Macbride's ship, accompanied by his Excellency Sir Robert Murray Keith, his Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of Copenhagen, who had displayed very great abilities and zeal in this unfortunate business, and supported, with great dignity and firmness, the honour of his King and Country. The squadron arrived at Stade on the 6th of June, where her Danish Majesty was received with every token of respect.

On the 31st of August, a violent storm happened at the Leeward islands, on which station Rear-Admiral Parry commanded his Majesty's ships and vessels. It was felt with particular severity at English Harbour, in the island of Antigua, where the Admiral then was, with his Majesty's ship Chatham, on board of which his flag was flying, together with the Active and Seahorse

horse frigates, and Falcon sloop, were driven ashore, and the Chatham lost her fore-mast. When the storm abated they were all fortunately got off.

In the month of June, Rear-Admiral Spry, with seven sail of the line, (guardships) and two frigates, (See Note 13.) was sent out on a cruize, in order to exercise the men. Commodore (now Lord) Shulldham, was appointed Governor of Newfoundland. Commodore Sir Edward Hughes relieved Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Harland, in the command of his Majesty's ships in the East Indies; as did Rear-Admiral Gayton, Admiral Sir George Rodney at Jamaica; and Rear-Admiral Man, Rear-Admiral Sir Peter Denis in the Mediterranean.

The spirit which the North American colonies discovered to resist the acts of the British Parliament for raising a revenue there, was applauded by some men of eminence in England, by which the leaders of the people in North America were greatly encouraged to persevere in their opposition to the measures of Government. The people of that country were also very generally agreed in their sentiments, respecting the mode of taxation which the Ministry had adopted; and the men who principally directed their resolution, were possessed of very considerable abilities. But unfortunately for both countries, his Majesty's Ministers were misinformed respecting the general concurrence and unanimity, which to a great degree prevailed among the colonists; and in consequence, viewed the resolutions of a great majority of the people, as the acts of a discontented faction, and took their measures accordingly. In the colonies many meetings were held, which generally ended in framing strong remonstrances and violent resolutions, against importations from Great Britain; and in all these measures, the town of Boston took the lead. At some of the other ports in America, the people were less violent; but in general, they entertained the same sentiments respecting the conduct of the mother-country.

The laws enacted in Great Britain, for the purpose of restraining and regulating the trade in the colonies, and for preventing smuggling, had been long looked upon, in that country,

as a considerable grievance; but the ease with which those laws were evaded, rendered them more tolerable than they would otherwise have been, and made resistance unnecessary. When the British Ministry resolved to raise a more effective revenue in America, they began by giving orders to his Majesty's ships upon that station, to put the laws against smuggling in force with the utmost rigour. These orders were, very properly, put in strict execution by the officers of the Navy; but as they occasioned a very considerable change in the trading system of that country, they were loudly complained of by the colonists, who broke out, on some occasions, in open acts of violence. In particular, Lieutenant William Dudingstone,* who commanded the *Gaspé* schooner, on the Rhode Island station, had distinguished himself by a strict discharge of this part of his duty, which drew upon him the resentment of all the people of that colony, who had, in other respects, taken an active part against Government. On the night of the 10th of June, the *Gaspé* schooner being aground in the river leading up to the town of Providence, was suddenly boarded by upwards of two hundred armed men, who came in boats. Mr. Dudingstone and his crew made a most gallant defence, and killed and wounded several of the assailants; but they were at last overpowered by numbers, who divested them of the command, and burnt the vessel. In this conflict, several of the schooner's people were wounded. Lieutenant Dudingstone, in particular, had his right-hand almost cut off at the wrist by a hanger, and received a dangerous wound from a musquet-ball in the thigh. The treatment which he and his crew met with when put ashore, strongly marked the sentiments and dispositions of the people. His Majesty was so well pleased with the spirit and conduct of the Lieutenant, that he ordered him to be promoted to the rank of Master and Commander, and settled a pension of five shillings a-day on him during life. His officers and crew were likewise indemnified, for the losses they had sustained upon this occasion. The Commissioners of the Customs in North America offered a reward of 500*l.* together with a pardon, if claimed

* Now a superannuated Rear-Admiral.

claimed by an accomplice, for discovering and apprehending any person concerned in attacking and burning his Majesty's schooner *Gaspé*, but no effectual discovery was ever made.

1773.

THIS year an occurrence happened, which, in the present irritable state of the North American colonies towards Great Britain, exasperated the inhabitants of New England to such a degree, as in a great measure to preclude all means of reconciliation between them and the mother-country, and accelerate the commencement of the civil war that ensued. This was the conveying to the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, several confidential letters, which had been written by Mr. Hutchison, the Governor; and Mr. Oliver, the Lieutenant-Governor of that province. The letters not only contained information respecting the situation of affairs there, but made the Ministry, to whom they were supposed to be communicated, acquainted with the characters and views of the leaders of the people, and with the temper and disposition of the inhabitants; suggesting also, what they thought the probable means of bringing back the colony to obedience, and the necessary measures to be prosecuted for that purpose. And as they were written by men of sense and observation, who had long resided there, and who were known to be zealous in the discharge of their duty, it will not be thought surprizing, that their contents should have kindled indignation and resentment in the breasts of the Assembly, which the violence of its proceedings and resolutions soon evinced. These letters, written to Mr. Wheatley, who had been Secretary to the Treasury, but who then held another office, were, after his death, by some means obtained by the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin, at that time Postmaster-General of America, and Agent in Great Britain for the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, and by him transmitted to his friends at Boston. For his conduct in this transaction, Doctor Franklin

was

was called before the Privy Council, and accused of having surreptitiously possessed himself of those letters, which were said to be of a private nature, although they referred to public affairs. Doctor Franklin would not give any account how he came by the letters, and declared, that he looked upon them as public letters, written with a malicious intention of misrepresenting his constituents to the British Government, and that he considered it to be his duty to transmit them as he had done, for the information of the Assembly. As much has been said for and against the Doctor's conduct in this transaction, the reader is referred for farther particulars, to the publications which appeared about that time, upon both sides of the question.

On the 9th of February, Lord Viscount Howe presented a petition to the House of Commons from the Captains of his Majesty's Navy, praying a reasonable increase to their half-pay. His Lordship moved, that the matter contained in the petition should be referred to a Committee, to take the same into consideration. He then stated to the House, the grounds on which the petition was founded; and pointed out the manner of paying and providing for the Captains of the Navy, from the time of their first having any regular existence as a corps, to that of the establishment by which their pay was at present fixed: and he made it perfectly clear to the House, that from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the year 1715, when they were placed upon their present establishment, they were always highly rewarded by posts of considerable profit, by particular gratifications, or by an half-pay double to what they now received.

Lord North opposed the petition, but it was so well supported by the Honourable Captain Phipps, (afterwards Lord Mulgrave); Mr. Thomas Townshend, (afterwards Viscount Sydney); Sir Gilbert Elliot, and others, that on the vote it was carried to refer it to a Committee, 154 to 45. Sir Gilbert Elliot observed to the House, "that, however well convinced the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be, and many others in Administration, of the impropriety of giving way to the present application, he nevertheless thought, that the rank and acknowledged services

" of

“ of the petitioners, at least entitled them to a candid hearing.
 “ Many circumstances might come out in an inquiry of such a
 “ nature, which would be well worth the attention of the House.
 “ In the year 1692, the pay of a Captain in the Navy was 11. 7s.
 “ per day, with an allowance of twelve servants, at sixpence
 “ a-day each, which made the whole 11. 13s. The year after,
 “ a different arrangement took place, and the pay was raised to
 “ 11. 10s. and the allowance for the servants struck off. In
 “ both these instances, the half-pay was fifteen shillings per day.
 “ In the year 1699, after the peace of Ryfwick, Administra-
 “ tion being embarrassed, Parliament insisted upon almost a
 “ total reduction of the military: the Ministry hit upon the ex-
 “ pedient of making a saving in the naval department, and pro-
 “ positions were accordingly made to and adopted by the House,
 “ that the full-pay of the Navy Captains should be reduced from
 “ 11. 10s. to 11.; with which likewise the half-pay list was to
 “ conform. But though this transaction stands in the Journals
 “ of the House in that light, the Captains on full-pay were
 “ actual gainers by it; for instead of the bare 11. 10s. they
 “ were allowed 11. actual pay, with an allowance of thirty-one
 “ servants, which in the whole amounted to 11. 15s. 6d. per
 “ day. Thus a foundation was in part laid for the hardships
 “ they now suffer.”

Lord Howe brought up a report from the Committee on the 5th of March; in consequence of which, an address was ordered to be presented to his Majesty, praying him to take into his Royal consideration, the state of the Captains of his Navy on half-pay, and to grant them such addition thereto, not exceeding two shillings a-day, as in his wisdom he saw proper, and that the House would make good the same.†

Upon his Majesty's having determined to review the fleet at Spithead, twenty ships of the line, two frigates, &c. were or-

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dered

† By this resolution of the House, the half-pay of the Captains in the Navy is as follows, viz.—Thirty Captains at 10 shillings per day each.

Fifty ditto 8 ditto ditto.

All the rest of the Captains at 6 ditto ditto.

dered to assemble there, under the command of Vice Admirals Eyre, Lord Edgecumbe, and Rear-Admiral Spry.* On Tuesday the 29th of June, the King with his attendants set out early in the morning from Kew, arrived at Portsmouth between ten and eleven the same day, and was received by a royal salute of twenty-one guns. His Majesty then proceeded to the first barrier, where Major-General Parker, who commanded the garrison during the Royal residence at Portsmouth, delivered the keys of the garrison to him; and he was pleased to return them. On his Majesty's entering the Land-port-gate, he was saluted by a triple discharge of two hundred and thirty-two pieces of cannon, mounted on the ramparts of Portsmouth, at Blockhouse Fort, and at South-sea Castle.

His Majesty proceeded through the town, out at the Water-gate, to the Dock-yard, and arrived at the Commissioner's house before eleven o'clock; where he was met by all the Officers of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the Treasurer and Commissioners of the Navy, the three Admirals of the squadron at Spithead, and the Master and Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance.

The artificers and workmen of the yard, being all assembled before the house, gave three cheers as his Majesty entered, then dispersed and returned to their several employments.

The Governor's house in town was next honoured with his Majesty's presence, attended by the nobility and persons of distinction: he had there a public levee, at which a great number of the officers of the navy and army were present, and many gentlemen of the country, come on this occasion to pay their duty to their Sovereign.

The Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Burgeesses of the town, waited on his Majesty, and were all most graciously received, and had the honour of kissing the King's hand; after which, his Majesty was pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood on John Carter, Esq; the Mayor of Portsmouth.

When the levee was over, his Majesty returned to the dock-yard,

* See Note 16.

yard, and at half an hour after one o'clock, embarked in a barge, in which his Royal Standard was immediately hoisted. The Earl of Sandwich, First Commissioner of the Admiralty; the Earl Delawar, Goldstick; and Lord Robert Bertie, Lord of the Bed-chamber in waiting, embarked in the same boat with the King.

His Majesty then proceeded to Spithead, attended by the barge of the Board of Admiralty, with the flag of their office; the three Admirals with their flags, and all the Captains of the fleet with their pendants in their barges.

As his Majesty passed the garrison, he had a royal salute of twenty-one guns from Blockhouse Fort, Saluting Platform, and South-sea Castle.

When the Royal Standard was seen from the fleet at Spithead, which consisted of twenty ships of the line, two frigates, and three sloops, moored in two lines abreast of each other, the whole manned ship, and saluted with twenty-one guns each.

The King went on board the *Barfleur* of 90 guns, where he was received by the Board of Admiralty; the Captain being at the head of the accommodation ladder, and the side manned by the Lieutenants of the ships. As soon as his Majesty passed the guard of marines on the quarter-deck, the flag of the Lord High Admiral which was then flying was struck, and the Royal Standard hoisted at the main-top-mast head, and the union flag at the mizen-top-mast head; on sight of which all the ships, except the *Barfleur*, saluted with twenty-one guns each.

The ship being cleared, as for action, and the officers and men at their respective quarters, his Majesty, after the nobility who had come off upon this occasion, and the flag-officers, had paid their duty to him on the quarter-deck, walked fore and aft on the lower gun-deck and took a view of the whole.

At half an hour after three o'clock, his Majesty sat down to a table of thirty covers, at which many of the nobility and persons of distinction, as well as officers of the navy and army of the rank of Colonel and upwards, were admitted to the honour

of dining. After dinner, the Queen's health being drank, the whole fleet saluted with twenty-one guns; and upon his Majesty's retiring from table, the King's health was likewise drank, with the like salute. The same was repeated every day, during his Majesty's continuance at Portsmouth.

At six o'clock, his Majesty went into his barge, attended by the Board of Admiralty, the Flag-Officers and Captains in the same order in which they came, and passed along both the lines of ships, each ship, being again manned, giving three cheers, and saluting separately with twenty-one guns, as the King passed by them.

His Majesty then went on board the Augusta yacht, where he was again received by the Board of Admiralty. The Royal Standard, with the Lord High Admiral's flag and union flag, were immediately hoisted, as they had been on board the Barfleur, and his Majesty sailed into the harbour, the ships at Spithead and the fortifications saluting as upon his Majesty's coming out, and the Admirals and Captains attending him to the harbour's mouth; after which, they returned to their respective ships. His Majesty landed at the dock a quarter before nine, and returned to the Commissioner's house, where he resided the whole time of his stay at Portsmouth.

Wednesday, June the 23d.—At eight o'clock this morning, his Majesty began to view the dock-yard, the ships building and repairing, and the magazines.

At eleven, his Majesty went into his barge, attended by the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy in their barges, with the flags of their respective offices, many of the nobility in another barge, and proceeded up the harbour to view the ships lying in ordinary. His Majesty went on board three of those ships, viz. the Britannia, a first rate of 100 guns; the Royal William, a second rate of 84 guns; and the Defiance, a third rate of 64 guns. At half an hour after two, he rowed down the harbour, and proceeded to Spithead, attended by the Commissioners of the Admiralty, the Flag-Officers and Captains in their barges as before, and went on board the Barfleur, where he dined.

At

At six o'clock in the afternoon, he went from the *Barfleur* on board the *Augusta* yacht, and sailed towards St. Helen's till near eight, and then stood in for the harbour; but it falling calm, he left the yacht, and was rowed to the dock-yard in his barge. He arrived there at half an hour after nine; the ships and fortifications saluting as he passed, and the Flag-Officers and Captains attending him to the mouth of the harbour, as they had done the day before.

Thursday, June the 24th.—His Majesty went to the gun-wharf at six o'clock in the morning, where he was received by the Master-General of the Ordnance, the Lieutenant-General, and principal officers of that department, and minutely viewed the magazines, artillery, and stores. He returned to the dock-yard at seven, and viewed such parts of it, and of the magazines and works carrying on, as he had not seen before.

At half an hour after ten, his Majesty, attended as before, by the Nobility and Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, went in his barge on board the *Venus*, a frigate of 36 guns, lying in ordinary; and from thence to Weovil, where he was received by Captain Pett, one of the Commissioners for Victualling the Royal Navy, and the officers of that department. Having received a royal salute of twenty-one guns from the lines at Gosport, and viewed the brewery, cooperage, and magazines, he returned to the dock. He then went to the Governor's house, and had another public levee.

At two o'clock, his Majesty went off to Spithead, in the same state as on the preceding days, to dine on board the *Barfleur*.

Vice-Admiral Pye having, in pursuance of the King's pleasure, been this day promoted to the rank of Admiral of the Blue, kissed his Majesty's hand on the quarter-deck, and hoisted his flag immediately on board the *Royal Oak*, which was, by the King's permission, saluted by all the ships present except the *Barfleur*. The Admiral, in acknowledgment of the honour conferred upon him, saluted the *Royal Standard* with all the guns on board the *Royal Oak*.

His Majesty was pleased, at the same time, to confer the honour of Knighthood on Admiral Pye ; as also, upon Richard, Spry, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the White ; Captain Joseph Knight of the Ocean, Senior Captain in the fleet at Spithead ; Captain Edward Vernon of the Barfleur ; and Captain Richard Bickerton of the Augusta yacht, who had the honour each day to steer the King's barge : and they had severally the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand upon the quarter-deck, under the Royal Standard.

At half an hour after five o'clock, his Majesty went from the Barfleur on board the Augusta yacht, attended as before ; and having sailed through part of the line of ships, stood into the harbour, and landed at the dock at half an hour after seven, attended and saluted as on the former days.

Friday, June 25th.—His Majesty went from the dock-yard at half an hour after five this morning, to view the new works and fortifications at Portsmouth ; beginning from the farthest part of the Common, round to the saluting platform.

At seven, his Majesty returned to the dock, embarked immediately on board the Augusta yacht, and sailed out of the harbour ; the fortifications saluting as he passed. When the yacht arrived at Spithead, Lord Edgecombe, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, with his division, got under sail and followed his Majesty. When the yacht and men of war had passed the buoys, the Vice-Admiral came on board, and, having by his Majesty's command been promoted to be Vice-Admiral of the White, had the honour to kiss the King's hand under the Royal Standard ; and then shifting his flag, received, by Royal permission, a salute from all the ships of his division.

His Majesty proceeded as far as Sandown Bay, where the Standard was saluted by the Castle.

The wind then freshening, and the tide being spent, the yacht, with the Vice-Admiral's division, returned to St. Helen's and anchored.

At three quarters after four, the yacht got under way, and the wind still blowing fresh, worked up to Spithead, leaving the

the Vice-Admiral and his division to proceed to Plymouth, according to the orders he had received. After the King had sailed along the line of ships remaining at Spithead, he stood towards the harbour, and came to anchor about half a mile within South-sea Castle, where his Majesty was attended by the Admiral and Rear-Admiral, and all the Captains and Lieutenants of the fleet at Spithead, who had severally the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand. While the yacht was at anchor, the ramparts of the town being lined with land-forces and marines, fired a *feu de joye* at ten o'clock, by a triple discharge of cannon and musquetry all round the works; immediately after which, the yacht weighed, proceeded into the harbour, and landed his Majesty at the dock-yard at half an hour after ten o'clock.

The King was this day pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain unto Hugh Palliser, Esq; Comptroller of his Majesty's Navy; and to Richard Hughes, Esq; Commissioner of his Majesty's Navy residing at Portsmouth: and also to direct, that the Commanders of the *Wasp*, *Speedwell*, and *Hazard* sloops, at Spithead, should be promoted to the rank of Post-Captains of his Majesty's fleet; the Lieutenants commanding the *Greyhound* and *Anson* cutters in Portsmouth harbour, the First Lieutenant of the *Barfleur*, and Lieutenant of the *Augusta* yacht, where the *Royal Standard* had been hoisted, and the First Lieutenants of the Flag-Officers ships, viz. the *Royal Oak*, *Dublin*, and *Ocean*, to be promoted to the rank of Commanders; and two Midshipmen from each of those ships and yacht to be made Lieutenants.

In all the processions before mentioned, both to Spithead and back again, a very great number of yachts and other sailing vessels and boats, many of them full of nobility and gentry, accompanied the barges, as well as the *Augusta* yacht, while the King was on board. The shores, both on the Portsmouth and Gosport side, were lined with an incredible number of people, who all expressed their loyalty and duty, as his Majesty passed along. And the houses, both in the town of Portsmouth, and

on the Common, as well as at Gosport, were illuminated every evening during his Majesty's stay.

His Majesty was pleased to express the highest approbation of the good order and discipline of his fleet; the excellent condition of the dock-yard, arsenals, and garrison; and the regularity with which every thing was conducted: and showed the utmost satisfaction at the demonstrations of loyalty and affection, with which he was received by all ranks of people.

Saturday, June 26th, his Majesty set out from the Commissioner's house, on his return to Kew, at three quarters after six o'clock, having been graciously pleased to order the following sums to be distributed, viz.

To the artificers, workmen, and labourers of the dock-yard, victualling-office, and gun-wharf, - £. 1500

To the companies of the Barfleur and Augusta yacht, and the crew of his Majesty's barge, - - 350

To the poor of Portsmouth, Portsea, and Gosport, - 250

His Majesty was also pleased to order some other smaller gratuities, and to release the prisoners confined in Portsmouth goal for debt.

His Majesty was saluted by a triple discharge of all the cannon round the fortifications, as likewise those of South-sea Castle and Blockhouse Fort, and by twenty-one guns on passing Portsea Bridge. Many thousands of people attended the chaise, with the loudest acclamations, to the end of the Mayor's jurisdiction; and at every place through which his Majesty passed, there were the strongest demonstrations of joy. At Godalming a band of music, accompanied by the voices of all the inhabitants, sung God save the King, the whole way through the town. At Guildford, the street was lined with the inhabitants; and the gentry, who were assembled at one of the public-houses, saluted his Majesty, as he passed, with the colours of the town.

Throughout the whole of his journey, there were numerous assemblies of people in every place where his Majesty passed, expressing

pressing in the warmest manner, their duty and affection, and their joy at seeing their Sovereign.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, the King arrived in perfect health at Kew.

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His Majesty was pleased, on the twenty-eighth of March, to appoint Vice-Admiral Samuel Graves, to the command of his ships employed or to be employed in North America; and on the second of April, to appoint the Honourable Thomas Gage, Lieutenant-General of his forces, to be Governor and Vice-Admiral of the province of Massachusetts Bay in North America, in room of Thomas Hutchison, Esq; who, in consequence of his Majesty having complied with his request to come to England, had retired.

A Squadron, consisting of seven sail of the line (guardships) and a frigate, was ordered to cruize to the westward, under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir James Douglas.* This Squadron was obliged to put into Plymouth by contrary winds, where it remained a short time. On the 4th of July, just as it was preparing to leave that place, a melancholy accident happened on board the Kent. The guns of that ship having been just scaled, a part of the wadding is supposed to have set fire to some gunpowder and cartridges that were on the poop, amounting to near three hundred and sixty pounds weight, most of it in chests; so great was the explosion occasioned by this accident, that the poop was beat down, the great cabin destroyed, and fifteen beams broken or sprung. Six men were blown up, three of whom were killed; thirty-nine men wounded, of which two died in the hospital; the ship was set on fire, and in great danger of being consumed. Captain Fielding, her commander, displayed much presence of mind upon the occasion, and gave his orders with great coolness and judgment. He directed the signal of distress to be hoisted, when all possible assistance was directly sent to the Kent, by the other ships of the Squadron; the flames were

* See Note 17.

This ill-advised measure served to complete the system, that had unfortunately been persisted in by his Majesty's Ministers for some years, and tended to alienate the affections of the Americans still farther from the mother-country. General Gage arrived at Boston on the 13th of May, and confirmed there what had been heard of the British Ministry's intentions, with regard to the port of Boston. He brought four regiments of infantry along with him. The people of Boston, so far from being intimidated by these measures, immediately entered into a general non-importation and a non-exportation agreement, to and from Great Britain and its dependencies. They also made their case known to all the other colonies; and the answers they received were so extremely favourable, as to encourage them to bear all the hardships with which they were threatened. The particular vengeance aimed against Boston, extended itself over the other British provinces in North America, and was felt as a common cause. So far were they from availing themselves of the commercial advantages, which the blocking up the port of Boston offered, that they felt her sufferings as their own. And as they were animated with the same spirit of displeasure against the British measures, they considered Boston as singled for the first victim in a sacrifice, which was meant to be general; and they determined to support their suffering brethren.

Under the influence of these impressions, the colonies began to prepare for their defence, and exerted themselves in buying arms and ammunition, and in training themselves to the use of them. The Virginians were the first who suggested the necessity of holding a General Congress at Philadelphia; an advice fraught with sound sense, which was soon after carried into execution. On the first day of June, the port of Boston was blocked up in terms of the act of Parliament; and to mark the general sympathy on that event, the same day was observed, throughout the British colonies, as a day of general prayer, fasting, and humiliation. On the 14th, a Solemn League and Covenant

Covenant was entered into by the Americans to take place on the 31st of August following.

From the violent measures which agitated the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, General Gage judged it proper to dissolve it, on the 22d of June; and on the 29th of the same month, he published his Proclamation against the Solemn League and Covenant. These impotent efforts on the part of Government served no good purpose, and pointed out to the Americans the extreme weakness of the executive power.

The new Council for the province of Massachusetts Bay were chosen by General Gage, on the 15th of August, in terms of the late act of Parliament: but so enraged were the people, against the legislative authority assumed by Great Britain over the colonies, that almost all the gentlemen so appointed, were obliged to resign their seats at that Board; and at this time, juries at Boston refused to be sworn under this act. Every measure indicated, that matters were coming to extremity. On the 23d of August, General Gage issued a proclamation, strictly forbidding town-meetings to be held, except by his permission. On the 1st of September, he ordered some gunpowder to be seized at Charlestown and Cambridge; and on the 2d, he directed the arms and ammunition belonging to the militia of the town of Boston to be delivered to him; whereupon the Governor's company of cadets disbanded themselves, and restored their colours. General Gage then ordered the isthmus,* which connects that town with the continent, to be fortified.

The first General Congress of the American Colonies met at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September this year. It was composed of fifty-two Delegates, viz. two from New Hampshire, four from Massachusetts Bay, two from Rhode Island, three from Connecticut, seven from New York, four from New Jersey, seven from Pennsylvania, three from the Counties on Delaware, four from Maryland, seven from Virginia, three from North Carolina, and five from South Carolina.

The abilities and address displayed by this Assembly have
feldom

* Commonly called Boston-neck.

seldom been surpassed, either in ancient or modern times. Their appeal to the people of Great Britain is replete with argument and manly sense, and was well calculated to make the intended impression. It may since have been lamented, that their sincerity was not then put to the proof, when they preferred this request: "Place us in the same situation that we were on at the close of last war, and our former harmony will be restored." Their after conduct may leave room to doubt the sincerity of this declaration; but the Americans will reply, that as it was not then accepted, it cannot now be questioned. When the Rubicon was passed, the sword alone could terminate the dispute. In the different addresses which the Americans published to the people of Great Britain, to the people of Ireland, to the Canadians, and to their brethren in North America, among a great many important truths, detailed with all the force of eloquence, there are several exaggerations, which seem addressed more to the passions than to the understanding. But as all these papers were laid before the public, to them the reader is referred; leaving him to form a judgment for himself on the merits of the cause.

Vice-Admiral Graves arrived at Boston on the 30th of June, in his Majesty's ship *Preston*, and assumed the command of the squadron; which, exclusive of the flag-ship, consisted of seventeen ships and vessels, of which eight only were at Boston, the rest being dispersed from the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Georgia. But it must be observed, that the *Preston*, and all the other ships on this station, were manned only according to the lowest peace establishment.*

There were likewise at Boston, three divisions of transports for the troops, with a Lieutenant of the Navy having the superintendence of each, as Agent of Transports, viz. Messrs. Bourmaster, Dickenson, and Cumming. These vessels were put under the direction of the Commander in Chief of the land-forces in North America; which is the first instance of this sort, that we have met with in the course of these Memoirs.

When Admiral Graves was under a necessity of recalling
some

* See Note 21.

some of his cruizers, the better to block up the port of Boston, in terms of the act of Parliament, the Americans availed themselves of the weakness of the Squadron, and procured supplies to an astonishing degree; so that it required more ships than the Admiral could spare, to carry the Boston Port Act into proper execution. To render this act of as little effect as possible, most of the provinces to the southward of Boston contributed to the relief of that town, and appointed Committees for transmitting their donations of rice and other provisions to its inhabitants.

Admiral Graves did all that lay in his power to attend to the information given him, of vessels coming from Europe with prohibited cargoes on board; but the strength of the Squadron under his command was by no means equal to the great and important services required of it. He duly sent notice to the few cruizers he had, to be watchful on their respective stations; and although he placed his ships at Boston to the best advantage, so favourable is the situation of the place for vessels escaping by different channels, that notwithstanding all his endeavours, he could not effectually guard all the inlets leading to that town. Many vessels accordingly passed unseen, which supplied Boston and its environs with goods. The Captains commanding the ships stationed at the various channels to prevent this trade, made repeated representations to the Admiral on this head, and informed him of a number of small vessels, in spite of their utmost vigilance, which stole in and out of the harbour during the night, by keeping close to Hull Point, and from thence at the back of Puttock's island, in by Braintree, close to Castle William. Governor Legge of Nova Scotia likewise made strong applications to the Admiral for a naval force, as the coasts of his extensive government were wholly unguarded, of which the smugglers greatly availed themselves. The coasts of Connecticut and Rhode Island, places notorious for a contraband trade, were not in a much better situation. The Vice-Admiral was induced, from these considerations, to write to the Admiralty, requesting that a reinforcement of frigates and
sloops

ships of war might be immediately sent to him; more especially, as several of the ships under his command were foul and short of their complement of men. At the time of which we are now speaking, the Boston Port Bill engrossed every person's attention: and on its first arrival in America it was discovered to contain defects, which in a considerable degree tended to defeat the designs of the British legislature. In particular, the act did not prohibit vessels from going out of the harbour in ballast; an error which left the inhabitants of Boston in possession of a very valuable branch of trade in building and repairing shipping, and allowed them to employ a great number of handicrafts and other people, to the amount of three thousand. This prevented that general distress among the lower class of people, by which the act most undoubtedly intended to bring their rulers to submission.

By the King's instructions to his Governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay, the Admiral commanding his Majesty's ships in North America, was to be present upon all consultations relative to maritime affairs. In consequence of this, General Gage desired that the Vice-Admiral would meet him at Salem, on the second of August, to consult on the contents of a petition he had received from several of the inhabitants of the town of Boston; and also, to consider whether the donations of rice, &c. from the other colonies to the poor of the town of Boston, came under the head of victual necessary for the use and subsistence of its inhabitants, as mentioned in the act. The Admiral accordingly met there the Governor, the Commissioners of the Customs, and the Attorney General of the province; the Chief Justice having declined being present, as the matter might come before him judicially. They were all clearly of opinion, that there was no authority to stop the launching of the ships, or to hinder their departing in ballast; nor could they lawfully prevent the donations above mentioned being brought to Boston, as the injunction of the act was complied with by their entering first at Salem.

On the 6th of August, the squadron was reinforced by the
arrival

arrival of the Scarborough frigate, Captain Chadds, in eight weeks from England. She brought dispatches for General Gage, and money to pay the troops; but no dispatches from the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Graves.

To such an alarming height was the disaffection of the people of the New England provinces arrived, that it was very dangerous to express among them the least attachment to his Majesty, or to Great Britain. Disguised mobs in the night, surrounded the houses of the newly made Counsellors of the province of Massachusetts Bay, and endeavoured by threatening their lives and property, to compel them to resign the King's appointment. One of these gentlemen was obliged to leave his house and fly for safety, with his family, to Boston. • An advertisement appeared in many public places at Boston, nearly in the following words, viz. "Any one, and every one of the Bar, that shall presume after this day to appear in Court, or otherwise do any business with the Judges, shall assuredly suffer death."

A mob of near five thousand men, mostly armed, assembled at Cambridge on the 2d of September, on purpose to oppose the new laws. They likewise committed various outrages against those who were well affected to Government; many of whom were forced to seek refuge in Boston. They seized the Sheriff of the county, who saved his life by signing an obligation to desist entirely from any execution of his office under the new laws; and they pursued a Commissioner of his Majesty's Customs within sight of the military guards at the town-neck of Boston. Such outrageous proceedings induced the Vice-Admiral, at the request of General Gage, to order the Canoeaux brig to haul into the creek to the southward of Boston, that she might, if necessary, assist the King's troops in defending the isthmus which leads into that town from Roxbury, in case the disaffected provincials should endeavour to force themselves into it by that way. To such a height, indeed, had their disloyalty arrived in the New England provinces, that the best informed were of opinion, that nothing would force them to

submission, but an effectual interposition of military power.

Information was given to General Gage, that the Americans had a foundery situated between the towns of Bridgewater and Abingdon, where a number of cannon were ready for immediate service, and that more were daily preparing. The destruction of this work would have been severely felt by the disaffected; but as no steps were pursued for this purpose, it is presumed, either that the Commander in Chief did not approve of the enterprize, or that his instructions did not authorise him at this time to have recourse to such strong measures. Abingdon is about thirty miles from Boston; and the nearest communication to it by water is at the head of North River, about fifteen miles from Abingdon. General Gage having ordered the 10th and 52d regiments of foot from Quebec to Boston, transports were hired to bring them from that place; but such a spirit of opposition and disloyalty prevailed among the people at Boston, that no pilots could be found who would take charge of the vessels, so that the Vice-Admiral was obliged to send the Master of the Tartar frigate on this duty.

From the weakness of the squadron, Admiral Graves had the mortification to learn, that many valuable cargoes of contraband goods were landed with impunity along the coast of America. The rebellious designs of the people became every day more evident, and a mob attempted to remove some pieces of cannon during the night from Boston; and actually carried some from Charlestown, which place may be regarded as a suburb of that town. The disaffected gave out at the same time, that their intention was to fortify a camp in the country; and soon after, the boats of the Lively and Preston seized a flat-boat belonging to the Americans, with six very good guns, six pounders, which they were carrying up Charlestown river, and were supposed to be destined for the same service.

From the disposition of the people, Admiral Graves foresaw a great likelihood, that there would soon be a want of artificers to work for Government, although Boston abounded with shipwrights, sailmakers, caulkers, &c. He therefore wrote, in the
most

most pressing terms, to Captain Ayscough of his Majesty's sloop the Swan, then at New York, but under orders to return to Boston, to procure such work-people as might be necessary to keep the ships under his command in proper repair; lest those at Boston should refuse their assistance. This precaution eventually proved of great service; for after the skirmish at Lexington, none of the Americans durst work for the King, either in the navy or army departments, but at the hazard of their lives.

The great attention of Commodore (now Lord) Shulldham, who commanded this year at Newfoundland, well deserves notice. Being informed of the violent proceedings in the province of Massachusetts Bay, he judged, that a reinforcement both of naval and military force, however small, must be very acceptable. He therefore put on board his Majesty's ship the Rose, (Captain now Sir James Wallace) two companies of the 65th regiment, and sent her to Boston, where she arrived the 12th of October. By order of Vice-Admiral Graves, she was stationed to cruize between Boston and the east end of Long Island, and to winter at Newport in Rhode Island. Her arrival there gave great pleasure to all the friends of Government; who soon experienced the effects of being thus protected. The intentions of the disaffected were thereby frustrated, and a severe check was given to the great importation of prohibited goods, which had for a long time been carried on there with impunity. The Rose being also near to the harbour of Boston, could easily join the squadron, if any event should occur that required such a reinforcement.

In the Provincial Congress held at Cambridge, it was frequently and strongly agitated to attack the King's troops immediately; or to oblige the inhabitants of Boston to set fire to the town, and then abandon it. This scheme would certainly have been attempted, if sufficient accommodation could have been found for the inhabitants in the country.

The Scarborough frigate having been sent home to England with dispatches, returned once more to Boston on the same errand, and arrived there on the 3d of December. Among

other papers sent out by her, was a printed copy of the King's order in Council, prohibiting the exportation of gunpowder, arms, ammunition, &c. from Great Britain to America; and also, orders to Admiral Graves to take the most effectual methods for preventing the importation of them into any part of that country. Soon after this, his Majesty's ships the *Asia* and *Boyne*, also arrived at Boston. So considerable a reinforcement determined Admiral Graves to change the disposition of his squadron. The large ships, with a sloop, and a few schooners, he deemed sufficient for the harbour of Boston during the winter. And such ships and vessels as could be spared, he ordered out to cruize along the coast, spreading them in such a manner as might most effectually prevent illegal trading, as well as guard against the arrival of arms and ammunition; and the ships so stationed rendered very important service.

His Majesty's proclamation, prohibiting the importation of arms and ammunition into his North American dominions, was speedily reprinted and conveyed to all the principal towns on the continent. The leaders of the people represented to them, that the British Government had now determined upon their destruction, and that they ought to take care of themselves.

Such language had an immediate tendency to inflame the people still more against the mother-country; and in consequence of it, an armed mob, on the 14th of December, seized on the cannon and ammunition, (above 100 barrels of gunpowder) in Castle William and Mary at Portsmouth, in the province of New Hampshire. The *Rose* being out on a cruize, another mob came down the river, and seized on the cannon and ammunition in Fort George, at Newport, Rhode Island, carrying them up to the town of Providence, where the Assembly of the province was then sitting. Soon after this, the Assembly came to several very violent and hostile resolutions, viz. to appoint a Committee to purchase 300 barrels of gunpowder, three tons of lead, and forty thousand flints, to be deposited at Providence, under the direction of Darcie Sessions, Esq; to order Colonel Nightingale to purchase four brass field-pieces; and

and to direct the public treasurer to borrow money for the payment of these articles; to remove the guns and artillery stores from Fort George, at Newport, to Providence; with several others that had the same tendency: such as, to raise four companies of soldiers immediately; to distribute the public arms to the different towns of the province; and to order the militia of the province to assemble, on a moment's warning, and to march for the protection of the province, or to the assistance of any of their sister colonies.

On the return of the Rose to Newport, Captain Wallace waited on the Governor, and asked why the cannon and stores had been removed during his absence from Fort George? To which he very frankly made the following answer: "To prevent them from falling into the hands of the King, or any of his servants, and to make use of them against any power that should offer to molest us." Captain Wallace then desired to know, if in the course of the King's service, he should require assistance, Whether he might expect it from him, or any others in the government? To this the Governor replied, that as to himself he had no power; and he believed, in respect to any other part of the government, the Captain would meet with nothing but opposition and difficulty.

1775.

THE advices which daily arrived from America must have convinced the Ministry, that a civil war was on the eve of breaking out. A bill was brought into Parliament, which received the Royal Assent on the 30th of March, "To restrain the trade and commerce of the four New England provinces to the British dominions, and to prohibit them from the Newfoundland fishery." On farther advices being received of the conduct of the other colonists, and the measures pursued by them, a like bill against the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Delaware Counties, Virginia, and

South Carolina, also received the Royal Assent on the 30th of April.

A considerable reinforcement of troops was directed to be sent to General Gage; and Major-Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, were ordered to Boston. They sailed from Portsmouth on the 20th of April, in the *Cerberus* frigate; and as soon as Administration received intelligence that hostilities had commenced, a large body of troops was ordered to embark at Corke, and to proceed with the utmost dispatch for Boston.

On the 26th of May, the King put an end to the session of Parliament; and in the speech which he made to both Houses on this occasion, said, "I cannot in justice forbear to express
"to you, my entire satisfaction in your conduct during the
"course of this important session. You have maintained, with
"a firm and steady resolution, the rights of my Crown and
"the authority of Parliament, which I shall ever consider as
"inseparable; you have protected and promoted the com-
"mercial interests of my kingdoms; and you have, at the
"same time, given convincing proofs of your readiness, (as
"far as the constitution will allow you), to gratify the wishes
"and remove the apprehensions of my subjects in America:
"and I am persuaded, that the most salutary effects must, in
"the end, result from measures formed and conducted on
"such principles."

The Commons during this session, voted eighteen thousand seamen and twenty-two thousand land-forces, exclusive of guards and garrisons, for the service of the present year. The whole sum voted amounted to 5,556,453l. 2s. 10d. The conduct of Administration appears somewhat unaccountable: by the speech from the Throne at the opening of the session, by the papers and letters laid before Parliament, and by all the advices from America, the distracted state of that country, and its determination to resist, seemed to be confirmed; yet, the number of seamen required for the service of this year, was two thousand less than had been employed in the last; and the

the military force which was destined for America, was far short of the strength requisite for the proposed coercion. It seemed as if the Minister had some secret hope of accommodation. Perhaps he was intimidated, by the violence with which the measures of Government were opposed; but more probably, he was misled by the misrepresentations of the adherents to the cause of Britain in America, who, viewing things with the jaundiced eye of prejudice, deceived both themselves and the servants of the Crown. This appeared to be strongly exemplified in the confident assertion of the naval minister, in his place in the House of Lords, who affirmed, that the low establishment proposed would be sufficient to effect the reduction of the colonies to obedience; and spoke with contempt of the power and courage of the Americans, who, he said, were undisciplined and incapable of discipline. He further insinuated, that the numbers of which such boasts had been made, were formed of such materials, and so indisposed to action, would only add to the facility of their defeat. A short time proved these assertions to be as ill-founded as they were illiberal; for soon after the rising of the Parliament, an account of the bloody action of Bunker's Hill was received in England.

All hopes of reconciliation between the parent state and the revolted colonies being now at an end, his Majesty, on the 23d of August, issued his proclamation for suppressing rebellion and sedition in North America.

In the course of this year, his Majesty made the following promotions: January 10th, Major-General Guy Carleton (now Lord Dorchester) was appointed Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the province of Canada.

By his Majesty's command, the Admiralty promoted the following Flag-Officers, viz. Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart. and Harry Duke of Bolton, Admirals of the Blue, to be Admirals of the White. Francis Geary, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Red, to be Admiral of the Blue. James Young, Esq; Sir Piercy Brett, Knt. and Sir John Moore, Bart. and K. B. Vice-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-Admirals of the Red. Samuel

Graves and William Parry, Esqrs. and the Honourable Augustus Keppel, Vice-Admirals of the Blue, to be Vice-Admirals of the White. Sir Peter Denis, Bart. Matthew Buckle, and Robert Man, Esqrs. Rear-Admirals of the Red, to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue. Clark Gayton, John Barker, Esqrs. Sir Richard Spry, Knt. Rear-Admirals of the White, and John Montagu, Esq; Sir Robert Harland, Bart. and James Sayer, Esq; Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red. Richard Lord Viscount Howe, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, to be Rear-Admiral of the White. Captajns Washington, Earl Ferrers, Hugh Pigot, Molineux Shuldham, Esqrs. Sir Joseph Knight, Knt. and John Vaughan, Esq; to be Rear-Admirals of the White; and Captains John Lloyd, Robert Duff, John Reynolds, Esqrs. Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Honourable John Byron, and Augustus John Earl of Bristol, to be Rear-Admirals of the Blue. April 4th, Captains Thomas Graves and Robert Digby, Esqrs. were appointed Colonels of Marines, in the room of Admirals Pigot and the late Earl of Bristol. April 6th, his Majesty was pleased to appoint John Earl of Sandwich, John Buller, Esq; Henry Viscount Palmerston, Lord Charles Spencer, Wilmot Viscount Lisburne, Henry Penton, Esq; and Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. to be his Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. Captain Maurice Suckling succeeded Sir Hugh Palliser as Comptroller of the Navy; and on the 25th, Rear-Admiral Duff was appointed Governor and Commander in Chief of Newfoundland. August 1st, Captain Mariot Arbuthnot was appointed one of the Commissioners, in quality of principal officer of the navy, for Naval Affairs in North America, to reside at Halifax in Nova Scotia. November 4th, William Earl of Dartmouth was appointed Lord Privy Seal; Thomas Viscount Weymouth to be one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and Lord George Sackville Germaine to be one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and named for the American Department.

Rear-Admiral Shuldham was, in the autumn, ordered to proceed

proceed directly to Boston, and there put himself under the command of Vice-Admiral Graves : but soon after, this order was recalled ; and instead of going out in a subordinate capacity, he was directed to proceed forthwith to Boston, and there take the command of his Majesty's ships and vessels on that station.

Towards the close of the year, Sir Peter Parker, Knt. was appointed to the command of a small Squadron, destined to escort Major-General Earl Cornwallis, with a considerable body of infantry, to North America. They left England early in December, and proceeded to Corke, where some of the regiments were to embark ; but owing to contrary winds, it was the middle of January 1776 before they left that port.

NORTH AMERICA.

The severity of the winter in a great measure cut off all communication with England ; and this rigorous season was scarcely over, when hostilities were unfortunately commenced between the King's troops and the colonists.

So much were the affections of the Americans now alienated from the mother-country, that whatever orders came from his Majesty's servants were not only disregarded, but received with marks of disapprobation and resistance.

Thus, the Secretary of State's circular letter to his Majesty's Governors in America, prohibiting the colonies from sending Delegates to the next General Congress, operated as an excitement to what it was intended to prevent ; and the people proceeded to elect representatives for that Assembly with greater keenness than ever.

On the 26th of February, General Gage sent a detachment of troops from Boston to Marblehead to seize some cannon, which he was informed had been deposited near Salem ; but they returned the next day without having found them. The General was more successful on the 18th of March, when a party which he sent out seized 13,425 musquet cartridges, and

3000 lb. weight of ball, which the provincials had collected.

It was the 19th of March before any advices were received from England, on which day a packet arrived; but it brought no particular instructions either to the General or Admiral how to act. It only conveyed some papers to the latter, with intelligence of some vessels loading with contraband goods in Europe, whose destination was supposed to be for America, that the Admiral might instruct his cruisers to keep a sharp look-out, and intercept them if possible.

Throughout the whole of the winter, as much as that tempestuous season would admit of, the Admiral had stationed the ships under his command with a view of seizing on any vessels bringing warlike stores to the Americans: but the coast he had to guard was so very extensive, and abounded in places so well adapted for evading his cruisers, that they were not successful.

His Majesty's brig the *Gaspée* being stationed at Falmouth, on the 13th of February four of her crew seized the boat then lying alongside, and rowed towards the shore, probably with an intention to desert. Lieutenant Hunter, her commander, called to them to return, but was only answered by abusive language; on which, he and the Master fired some musquets to compel them to obedience, and wounded one of the men in the boat. The other three rowed ashore to Falmouth, where the wounded man died, and they deserted. Such was the rebellious disposition of the people of this place, that they threatened to destroy the *Gaspée*, or any other of the King's ships that should come there. Lieutenant Hunter judging it unsafe to send a boat on shore, and wishing to prevent the civil power at Falmouth from taking cognizance of the seaman's death, left that place and returned to Boston, where he was tried by a Court-martial, and most honourably acquitted. Admiral Graves sent back the *Gaspée* to her former station, in hopes of recovering the deserters, and to check the insolence of the people there for threatening the King's ships. He assured them, that if they committed any act of violence against the persons of any of his Majesty's officers or seamen, or destroyed any of the ships'

ships' stores, he would take the severest measures to distress them. This for a while had the desired effect; they returned a civil answer to Lieutenant Hunter's letter, informing them of the Admiral's resolutions, and the crew of the *Gaspée* went ashore as formerly without being insulted.

The people at Boston, in order to distress his Majesty's service as much as possible, did all that lay in their power to prevent the pilots residing there, from taking charge of any of the King's ships. Many were driven from their homes, and threatened with death if they disobeyed these mandates. But the Admiral, ever attentive to the good of the service, retained as many of this useful set of men in the service as he could; not only keeping more of them on board the fleet than were immediately necessary, a measure which proved afterwards of the greatest utility, but holding out prospects to them of future provision, which had a most happy effect.

In spring this year, the Americans, who were discontented with his Majesty's government, began to intercept the messengers that were intrusted with letters from the General and Admiral to the officers stationed at different ports, or to such as remained faithful to his Majesty's government. This obliged General Gage and Admiral Graves, for the greater secrecy as well as security, to send their dispatches to the different ports by sea; an additional duty on the fleet, which were already sufficiently employed.*

Toward the end of the year 1774 and the beginning of this year, the situation of affairs in the four New England provinces, particularly in and about Boston, began to wear a very threatening aspect. The mutual jealousies and discontents between the parent state and the colonies had arrived at such a height, as induced the latter to adopt what they termed proper precautions. The whole of the province of Massachusetts Bay, as well as several of the other provinces, were actually preparing for war with the greatest diligence; uncommon pains were taken to discipline the militia and minute-men; to provide every

* See Note 22.

every man with arms and ammunition, and to collect magazines, and provisions, &c. At the same time, the people were so extremely violent, that they scrupled not to declare, that these preparations were intended not only to defend themselves against the British, but that when winter should set in, and the ice become strong enough to bear them, they would come in a body to Boston, and by dint of their numbers turn all the King's troops out of it. In the mean time, they continued invariably to oppose the execution of the new laws.

On the part of the British, it must be observed, that there was but a very small army in Boston, and that they only took the usual methods of guarding against surprise, until the latter end of the winter; when it became absolutely necessary, not altogether to slight the evidence of their eyes and ears. But all that was then done was to augment the guards, sentinels, &c.

However, as the ice during the winter 1774 did not happen to freeze hard enough to serve as a bridge, the disaffected were obliged to postpone their intended scheme of turning the King's troops out of Boston, until the spring; when they gave out, that they would come for that purpose in whale-boats. Accordingly, about the beginning of the month of April, the Tories, that is to say, the people who continued well-affected to his Majesty, were more openly persecuted than before; many of them were compelled to fly into Boston, and things were every where carried with a high hand against the British Government: so that it became visible, that unless the differences were speedily adjusted, the parties must soon come to avowed hostilities.

The most sensible and best informed of the King's friends in Boston were of opinion, that all communication would soon be cut off with the country, and the opposers of Government would find means to oblige the British forces to abandon the town.

In order to prevent being taken by surprise, no expence was spared to fortify the neck of land which leads into Boston from Roxbury, and a very watchful eye was kept on the people both
of

of Charlestown and Boston; those in the latter not having as yet consented to be disarmed. Left the communication with the country should be cut off, Admiral Graves gave orders to all the ships of war at Boston to prevent any stock from being taken off the islands in the harbour, without permission: and as the situation of things became more and more critical, he was solicitous to guard the town of Boston from any attempt that might be made against it from the Charlestown side. He therefore ordered the channel of the river to be carefully sounded; and finding by the report, that there was room enough for a ship of the line to swing at low water, he directed Captain Le Cras to place the Somerset exactly in the ferry-way between the two towns. The Somerset, by this position, not only served to overawe Charlestown, and prevent any attack from that side, but she would have enabled the General to employ a greater number of soldiers in the defence of other posts, had the New Englanders presumed to make the threatened attack. The fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Graves was greatly dispersed, but so disposed, as to afford all the protection in his power to his Majesty's loyal subjects in the colonies.*

General Gage having received undoubted intelligence of a large quantity of military stores being collected at Concord, the town where the Assembly of the province of Massachusetts Bay had met, and that this magazine was for the avowed purpose of supplying a body of troops destined to act in opposition to his Majesty's government; Vice-Admiral Graves, on the 18th of April, by desire of the General, ordered the boats of the Squadron to assemble alongside of the Boyne by eight o'clock in the evening, their officers being instructed to follow the directions of Lieutenant Bourmaster. About half past ten o'clock, the grenadiers of the army and the light-infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith of the tenth regiment, and Major Pitcairn of the marines, were embarked into these boats, with orders to destroy the above mentioned stores. The troops disembarked at the entrance of Cambridge river, at Phipps's

* See Note 23.

Phipps's farm, and immediately began their march. General Gage was surrounded with too many secret enemies, for this measure to remain concealed. They contrived means to send advice of the intended enterprise, and likewise of their suspicions, that besides the destruction of the stores, it had another and more important end in view, viz. the seizing on the persons of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, Esqrs. two of the Members of the Assembly then sitting at Concord, who had rendered themselves, by the violence of their opposition, extremely obnoxious to government. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith had marched only a few miles, when he found the whole country alarmed by the ringing of bells and firing of guns: on which he detached six companies of light-infantry, under the command of Major Pitcairn, to secure two bridges on different roads beyond Concord. This officer, upon his arrival within two miles of Lexington, which might be about four in the morning of the 19th, received intelligence, that a body of near five hundred men in arms were assembled, and determined to oppose the King's troops. On galloping up to the head of the advanced companies, the officers told him, that a man advanced from those that were assembled had presented his musquet, and attempted to shoot at them; but that the piece had flashed in the pan. On this, the Major gave directions to the troops to move forward; but on no account to fire, without orders. When they arrived at the end of the village, they observed about two hundred armed men drawn up on a green: and when the troops came within one hundred yards of them, these men began to file off towards some stone walls on the right flank. Major Pitcairn called to them to disperse; the King's troops followed them, and the Major gave orders that they should not fire, but endeavour to surround and disarm the Americans. A few of them who had leaped over a wall, then fired four or five shot at the troops, wounded a man of the tenth regiment, and shot Major Pitcairn's horse in two places. Some shots were fired from other places at the same time; on which the light-infantry, without any order or regularity, began

began a scattered fire, and killed several of the country people : but their fire was silenced, as soon as the authority of their officers could be interposed. Soon after this unfortunate transaction, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, with the troops under his command, joined Major Pitcairn, and the whole marched on for Concord, where they arrived about nine o'clock. Messieurs Handcock and Adams did not wait the arrival of the King's forces, but moved off to a place of safety. Great numbers of the country people now assembled on all the neighbouring heights. While Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, with the main body of his troops, was at Concord searching for cannon and stores, he detached Captain Parsons, with six companies of light-infantry, to secure a bridge at some distance from that place, and to proceed from thence to certain houses where it was supposed some of the stores were deposited. Captain Parsons, in pursuance of these orders, posted three companies at the bridge and on some heights near it, under the command of Captain Laurie of the forty-third regiment ; and with the remainder went and destroyed some cannon-carriage wheels, powder, &c. All this while the country people continued assembling on the heights ; and in about half an hour after, a large body of them began to move towards the bridge. The light companies of the fourth and tenth regiments then descended from the heights, and joined Captain Laurie at the bridge ; but were followed by the provincials in great numbers, who fired on the King's troops, by which three men were killed, and several officers and men were wounded. After returning the fire, and consulting with his officers, Captain Laurie judged it prudent to retreat towards the main body at Concord : and on the road he was joined by two companies of grenadiers. Captain Parsons, with the companies which had remained with him, immediately followed Captain Laurie, and marched for Concord. On their march, they saw the three men who had fallen by the shot from the Americans lying on the ground, one of them scalped, his head much mangled, and his ears cut off, though not quite dead ; a sight which greatly incensed the
soldiers,

soldiers, and struck them with horror. Colonel Smith destroyed all the cannon and stores he could find at Concord. Both he and Major Pitcairn took all possible pains to convince the inhabitants, that no injury was intended to them; and that if they would open their doors when required, so that search might be made for the military stores, not the slightest mischief should be done to them. Nor had any of the people the least reason to complain; but they were sulky, and one had even the insolence to strike the Major. The alarm, which had now become general, and the reports of opposition which the King's troops had met with, soon reached Boston, with circumstances of aggravation. This induced General Gage to send another detachment, consisting of eight companies of the fourth regiment, the same number of the twenty-third and forty-ninth regiments, with some marines, and two field-pieces, under the command of Earl Percy, with orders to march by Cambridge bridge to Lexington, and to support the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith. This was a most fortunate circumstance. The latter, as soon as all his detached parties had rejoined him, began his march from Concord to Lexington, on his return for Boston; but scarce had the troops got out of the town, when they were assailed with a heavy fire from all sides, from walls, fences, houses, trees, barns, &c. which continued without intermission until they were met by the detachment under Lord Percy, who had made the greatest haste to their assistance. The fire from the field-pieces at first checked the Americans; but their numbers increasing every minute, they hung on the rear of the King's troops, and kept up a most galling fire until they reached Charlestown, always keeping themselves as much under cover as possible. Considering how very much fatigued the troops were, as the greatest part of them had been under arms all night, and had marched near forty miles before they got back to Charlestown, it is astonishing that the loss they sustained was so small; the more so, when it is remembered by what numbers they were attacked, from the most advantageous positions, for the space of fifteen miles. On this

memor-

memorable occasion, one lieutenant, one serjeant, one drummer, and sixty-two rank and file, were killed; two lieutenant-colonels, two captains, nine lieutenants, two ensigns, seven serjeants, one drummer, and one hundred and fifty-seven rank and file, wounded; and one lieutenant, two serjeants, and twenty-four rank and file, missing. Three pieces of iron ordnance were destroyed by the detachment; some new gun-carriages and a great number of carriage-wheels burnt; and a considerable quantity of flour, gunpowder, musquet-balls, and other articles, were thrown into the river. The provincials acknowledged, that they had thirty-eight men killed, and upwards of twenty wounded, on this occasion, in which they asserted the King's troops to have been the aggressors; but this charge was as strenuously denied by them, and retorted on the Americans.

As soon as Vice-Admiral Graves knew that the King's troops were returning by way of Charlestown, he ordered that all the marines on board the Squadron should be ready to land at a moment's warning, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone; and they were accordingly landed, at General Gage's request, at Charlestown, in order to assist and cover the retreat of the detachment. On this occasion, his Majesty's ship the Somerset proved of very great service; as from the station in which she was placed, she intimidated the disaffected inhabitants of Charlestown from attacking the King's troops, who, under her cover, passed over to Boston without farther molestation. Had it not been for this protection, it is probable, that the consequences might have proved very fatal to soldiers so much exhausted with fatigue, and whose ammunition was nearly expended, as they would undoubtedly have been attacked by great numbers; and if the insurgents had succeeded in cutting off so considerable a detachment of his Majesty's forces, the garrison of Boston might have been in a very critical situation.

Soon after the commencement of open hostilities at Lexington, it was commonly reported, that Admiral Graves had urged

General Gage, without loss of time, to burn the towns of Charlestown and Roxbury, to seize and establish posts upon Roxbury heights and Bunker's Hill, the latter of which places the rebels had begun to fortify; but for some unknown reasons, the work had been discontinued. In opposition to this proposal, the General, it is said, stated the weakness of his army; which the Admiral offered to strengthen as far as lay in his power, by landing the marines that were on board the squadron. And if the General thought proper to withdraw the 64th regiment from Castle William, he offered to garrison it with his seamen, and be answerable for its safety. How well-founded this report was, it is impossible for us to say; but had such a plan been steadily pursued, it would have given the appearance of vigour and activity to our operations: and by serving as a great check to the proceedings of the disloyal Americans, it might have induced them to remain a long time quiet, especially when it is considered, that three line of battle ships lay opposite to the town, and that the warehouses were full of goods. It is well known, that Admiral Graves was decidedly of opinion, that from the 19th of April, we ought to have commenced hostilities, by laying waste all the circumjacent country.

On the 20th of April, Vice-Admiral Graves issued orders, that all scows, sloops, schooners, and boats of every description, should be brought, as soon as they could be picked up, and kept to the southward of the long wharf, under the care of a guard, and that none of them should be allowed to pass into the harbour, (except with the King's troops) without his leave in writing. Every ship was now kept clear for action, and during the night, boats manned and armed lay alongside of each. The number of guard-boats was doubled, and proper instructions given to the officers, in case the rebels should attempt to force the lines; some thousands of them in arms having assembled at Roxbury. At the same time, the Admiral ordered Captain Le Cras to acquaint the select men of Charlestown, that if they suffered the rebels to take possession of their town, or to erect any works upon the heights, the Somerset would fire on them.

them. Captain Macartney, in Nantasket road, had directions to keep a strict look-out upon Alderton. Captain Bishop was ordered to caution the people of Marblehead against assisting the rebels, upon pain of being considered as such, and having their town destroyed. The Falcon sloop was ordered to haul as far into Gallow's creek to the southward as possible. The Captain of the Nautilus, off Magazine Point, was instructed to arm a flat-bottomed boat, and with the assistance of boats from the other ships, to take care that a guard should be rowed every night as high up the river as they could go. The Somerset was to prevent any person from crossing the river without the Governor's permission; and when the ferry-boats were afterwards allowed to ply, not to suffer any arms or ammunition to be carried to the Charlestown side, except for the King's forces; and after gun-firing in the evening, no boat was allowed to pass, except those rowing guard. The Hope schooner was stationed between Dorchester Point and Castle William, to alarm the garrison, in case of any attempts being made against it in the night; and her commander was ordered to concert signals with the commandant in the Castle for that purpose. Another sloop arriving soon after, was, as a farther security to the Castle, sent to join the Hope; and her Captain likewise received full directions for his proceedings upon any contingency.

The resolution of General Gage to keep the women and children in the town, and the very great activity of the garrison, and the King's troops in general on their several stations, were the means that most probably prevented Boston from being attacked. The whole country round was in the utmost agitation, from the time they heard of the engagement between the King's troops and the provincials: and there was great reason to believe, that the ferment which succeeded was rather the effect of joy, than of surprise or fear. Multitudes having repaired to Cambridge and Roxbury, completely equipped for battle, there took post; and with the greatest alacrity threw up intrenchments. Movements so rapid, and at the same time so

judicious, had much the appearance of being the result of a preconcerted and well-digested plan.

Reports were circulated, that the insurgents had resolved to storm the town of Boston; to seize upon and destroy Castle William; to fortify Point Alderton; to burn all the ships of war; and to cut off every person disaffected to their cause. Some through fear believed these reports; and many were inclined to give credit to what they wished might be accomplished. They answered one good purpose, by inducing both the Admiral and General to take every precaution in their power to frustrate such designs, being convinced that the danger with which they were threatened from without, would have been powerfully aided by the King's enemies who were within the town.

The Admiral's proposal, for possessing and fortifying the heights of Charlestown, not having been acquiesced in, it immediately occurred to him, that the Somerset, which was moored in the stream between the towns of Boston and Charlestown, would be frequently in a defenceless state, confined by her situation in a very narrow channel and shallow water, unable to be removed except upon flood tides, and then only by warping. In addition to these unfavourable circumstances, some hours before and after low water, her guns could not command the heights above Charlestown, from whence she might be annoyed. It is true, that the insurgents had not then discovered any intention to occupy them, and complete the works which they had but just begun; but it was to be apprehended, that so advantageous a situation would not long escape their notice, and that they would soon erect batteries there. The Vice-Admiral asked and obtained General Gage's permission, to throw up a battery on Cope's-hill in Boston, for the security of such of the King's ships as the service might require to be in Charlestown river, and to man it with his sailors and marines. The situation of this hill obviously pointed it out as the fittest spot for the purpose intended, being nearly of an equal height with Bunker's Hill, and the other heights near it on that side of the river, and directly opposed to a commanding eminence, from which

which the Admiral apprehended the Somerfet might be fired upon, at a time when she neither could make resistance, nor get out of danger: the Admiral undertook to erect this battery with his seamen and marines, as from the severe duty in the town, a working party could ill be spared. Lieutenant-Colonel James, of the regiment of artillery, superintended this work; and when finished, it was mounted with six twenty-four pounders from the line of battle ships, and called the Admiral's Battery.

From the day on which the skirmish at Lexington happened, all intercourse between the country and the garrison of Boston was cut off, and the town was completely blocked up on the land-side. General Putnam was ordered to assume the command of such of the rebel troops as had assembled at Roxbury and its environs, to the amount of fifteen thousand men; all supplies of provisions or fuel were strictly prohibited from being carried into Boston, and every step was taken to distress the King's troops as much as possible. The activity and alertness with which these orders were executed, shewed how hearty the people were in the cause for which they had taken arms; and the courage they frequently displayed, manifested that they were equal to any enterprize. Cannon and ammunition were reported to be the two things which the insurgents stood most in need of; but they soon found means to obtain an ample supply of both. Though General Gage had got intelligence conveyed to the Commandants of the forts at Ticonderago † and Crown Point, ‡ they were both most shamefully taken by surprise by a handful of rebels, headed by a person of the name of Allen, who on this occasion assumed the rank of a Colonel. In these two places, the insurgents found a great supply of cannon and military stores: and soon after, the Congress assembled a very considerable force there for the invasion of Canada.

Exaggerated accounts of the action near Lexington flew with the greatest rapidity to every province in North America; and together with the comments which accompanied them, did infinite

nite mischief to his Majesty's authority in that country. The people prepared for resistance, instantly flew to arms, and in every province where the spirit of disaffection prevailed, it was resolved not to supply the King's ships or troops with provisions, stores, or even with fuel. Some of the most violent proceeded so far, as to declare offenders against these resolutions to be enemies to their country, and others threatened such with the punishment of death.

His Majesty's Governors of most of the North American provinces, were indebted to some small ships of war for their safety. The increasing numbers and the activity of the disaffected Americans, who were assembled before the town of Boston, rendered it impossible for the Admiral or General to spare them a naval or military force capable of affording them protection; far less of subduing the insurrections in their respective provinces. The *Asia* of sixty-four guns was, however, sent by the Admiral to assist Governor Tyron at New York. In Virginia, the Earl of Dunmore, with a handful of men, performed wonders; and had the good fortune to get the public stores at Williamsburgh conveyed on board some small vessels, in the night of the 20th of April. But the inhabitants soon after taking arms, seized on the remaining magazines: and his Lordship was forced to take refuge on board a ship of war. A like fate befel most of his Majesty's Governors of the North American provinces this year; the greater part of the Provincial Assemblies having resolved to pay them obedience no longer.

On the 10th of May, the second General Congress, met at Philadelphia, acted agreeably to the sentiments of the majority of their countrymen, and soon formed Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union of the United States of America. We will now return to Boston, the grand scene of naval and military operations.

About the 20th of April, General Gage intimated his intention to Vice-Admiral Graves, of withdrawing the remainder of his Majesty's troops from Halifax, and bringing them to Boston.

Boston. As Halifax was the only naval arsenal on the American continent, the Vice-Admiral, to prevent its being left in a defenceless condition, sent orders to Captain Edward Medows of the *Tartar* to remain there, in order to protect that harbour, the dock-yard and stores, and to support his Majesty's Government.

A party of the 4th regiment having been sent during the winter to Marshfield, for the safety of a number of friends to Government in that town and neighbourhood, the *Hope* schooner was ordered, with two sloops, to bring them to Boston, and along with them any of the loyal inhabitants who might desire to be removed.

All communication by land being stopped by the rebels, General Gage represented to the Admiral, the necessity of having small vessels to carry dispatches to and from New York, and occasionally to Piscataway and Halifax. In consequence of this representation, he purchased two schooners, and established them as armed vessels, one by the name of the *St. Lawrence*, the other by that of the *Halifax*; conferring the command of the former on Lieutenant John Graves, and of the latter on John de la Touche. It was with the utmost difficulty that the Admiral obtained these two schooners, on account of the fears of the owners to risk their vessels. The disaffected Americans having determined to prevent the King's army and navy from obtaining any supplies of provisions and fuel, their rulers issued their prohibitions to that effect with such severity, that most of the vessels in the province of Massachusetts Bay were dismantled and laid up.

It was at this time forbidden at Cambridge, under pain of death, to supply the town of Boston with necessaries of any sort. The Admiral gave orders to his cruizers to secure and bring in, every vessel with provisions which they should meet; and he wrote most pressingly to the Governors of Quebec and Nova Scotia to facilitate, as much as lay in their power, the sending of supplies of fresh provisions and other necessaries to Boston.

The insurgent Americans, with astonishing perseverance, pursued their avowed design of cutting off every possible supply from the friends of Government, and of destroying what they could not carry away. On the 27th of May, they burnt a great deal of hay on Hog island; and a few hours after, they landed on Noddles island, with the intention of also burning the hay which had been purchased for the army, and of adding to the conflagration, by laying in ashes a storehouse that had been hired when his Majesty's ship the Glasgow was on shore, and in which the Admiral had deposited two large cargoes of lumber, until an opportunity should offer of sending them to Halifax. The storehouse also contained many other articles, which it was of great consequence to preserve, from the impossibility of having them replaced at this juncture. There were likewise on this island six hundred sheep, several milch cows, and a number of horses, mostly private property. The Admiral, eager to prevent the depredations of the Americans, when he observed that they were landed upon the island, immediately ordered the Diana schooner (newly arrived) to sail between it and the main; and to get up as high as possible to intercept them: and as assistance from the army required time, he directed a party of marines to be landed. The Diana entered the river between three and four in the afternoon at low water, and proceeded to Hog island, with some interruption from the rebels on all sides. Their numbers on Hog and Noddles islands were computed at seven hundred men. Parties of each occasionally attacked the Diana. They were, however, all obliged to quit Noddles island, without doing the intended mischief. This being effected; Lieutenant Graves, whom the Admiral had ordered not to remain in the river upon the turn of the tide, began to move off: but being retarded by a calm which unluckily took place, the boats of the squadron were ordered to assist the Diana by towing her along. The slow progress which she made gave time for the enemy to assemble; and by the close of the evening the whole country was alarmed, and the rebel General Putnam had brought two thousand

thousand men with field-pieces from Cambridge, with which he lined the shore and greatly annoyed her. The marines from the Squadron were landed on the island, with two three pounders from the Cerberus; and General Gage, the moment it was in his power, sent two pieces of artillery: but it was impossible, though in sight of the fleet, to give the schooner any effectual assistance. The calm continued; it grew almost dark; the fire of the rebels increased; between eleven and twelve at night, she unfortunately got aground upon the ferry-ways at Winnisimmet, and the tide ebbing fast, rendered every effort to move her ineffectual. About three in the morning she fell over, and her crew were obliged to abandon her, and go on board the Britannia armed sloop, which had been sent to their assistance. The Diana was soon after burnt by the rebels. The battle was renewed by Lieutenant Graves in the Britannia, and lasted about eleven hours from first to last, in which there were two men killed, and several wounded; the commander, officers, and crew of the Diana schooner were tried by a Court-martial for the loss of the vessel, and most honourably acquitted.

After this disagreeable affair, the great utility of the battery erected by the Admiral on Cope's-hill, in the town of Boston, was discovered. The corps of artillery was ordered to take possession of it, and to mount on it some of their own cannon, those belonging to the men of war having been returned on board; and as this defence was now considered as of some importance, it lost its former name, and obtained that of the *Cope's-hill Battery*.

The Admiral now found it necessary to remove the Somerset from her station, in the narrow passage between Boston and Charlestown, where she had been of great use, as she was in obvious danger from the declared intentions of the rebels to burn and destroy her; a design they might easily accomplish, because she could be moved only by warping, and that on a flood tide. She was therefore ordered to anchor off Hancock's wharf:

wharf: the *Lively* to take her station at the ferry, and the *Merlin* to go to Marblehead in place of the *Lively*.

On the 29th, the rebels landed again upon Noddles island, drove off the sheep and cattle, and entirely destroyed all the dwellings, barns, stables, and out-houses of every kind in the place.

Captain Linzee, of the *Falcon*, perceiving an American vessel in Buzzard's Bay, sent a sloop to seize her, which she did: but returning with her prize, she was attacked by a vessel from Dartmouth, taken and carried in there. This lost Captain Linzee his gunner, surgeon's mate, a midshipman, eight seamen, and three marines, who were carried prisoners up the country.

The *Asia*, Captain Vandeput, arrived at Sandy Hook the 25th of May, and the next day moored before New York. Captain Vandeput ordered the *King's Fisher* sloop to remain at the Hook, and to cruize occasionally for the packets and the troops expected to arrive there. He found that Lieutenant-Governor Colden had retired to Long Island, and that the authority of Government was entirely suspended; the direction of the city being in the hands of rebel Committees, who allowed the *Asia* to be supplied with every thing wanted. But as no dependence could be placed on so precarious a supply, Captain Vandeput received orders to take the first opportunity of having his provisions completed: and Captain James Montagu, of the *King's Fisher*, was directed to do the same.

The rebel Congress now resolved to raise an army of thirty thousand men; each colony giving its proportion according to the extent and number of its inhabitants. They also agreed to issue paper currency for the support of their troops; to publish regulations for raising, maintaining, and disciplining them; and with a view of extending their influence, they addressed the Canadians to unite in their cause. On the 24th of May, a large reinforcement of infantry, and a regiment of light dragoons, arrived at Boston from Ireland: and on the 26th, the *Cerberus* frigate also arrived, having on board Major-Generals Howe,

Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. On the 8th of June, the Congress resolved, "That the compact between the Crown and the people of Massachusetts Bay is dissolved." On the 12th, General Gage issued a Proclamation at Boston, establishing Martial Law, and offering pardon to all persons in rebellion, excepting Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose crimes were considered as of too flagitious a nature to admit of any thing short of condign punishment. This proclamation rendered those two gentlemen still dearer to their countrymen, if possible, than they were before.

At day-break on the 17th of June, the garrison of Boston were alarmed by a heavy cannonade from his Majesty's ship *Lively*, which proceeded from the enemy having taken possession of Bunker's Hill, a height on the peninsula of Charlestown, and which they had, during the preceding night, fortified with the greatest diligence. They were discovered in the morning, erecting a battery to play on the shipping and the town of Boston. General Gage immediately resolved to attack and if possible dislodge them.

It was intended to have warped the *Somerset* nearer to the shore, that the troops might have landed under cover of her fire; but from the shallowness of the water this plan was abandoned. From this cause the large ships could give no other aid, than that of sending men, ammunition, and stores to the smaller ones, and their boats to assist at the debarkation of the forces. The *Glasgow* frigate and *Symmetry* schooner kept a constant fire upon Charlestown-neck; two scows, (a kind of flat-bottomed lighters) with a twelve pounder in each end, were manned from the ships of war, and under the direction of Colonel James of the artillery, went as near to the mill-house as possible, with a view not only to prevent the enemy from marching fresh forces over the isthmus during the action, but to annoy those who were routed, and to prevent their escape. This plan was frustrated by the ebbing tide, which prevented either the scows or small vessels from approaching within the distance necessary to perform the service with effect.

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The Lively, Falcon, and Spitfire, anchored abreast of and below Charlestown, covered the landing of the troops, and kept up a well-directed fire, as long as they could distress the enemy without too much endangering their own people.

At nine in the morning, the Glasgow frigate, lying off New Point, and a battery of six pieces of heavy cannon, and some howitzers from Cope's-hill, opened on the rebels. The perseverance with which they continued their work, notwithstanding this severe cannonade, was astonishing; and would have done honour to veteran troops. By General Gage's orders, ten companies of grenadiers, and ten of light-infantry, together with the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d regiments, and a proportional quantity of artillery, under the command of Major-General Howe, having under him Brigadier-General Pigot, were embarked with great expedition, and landed about noon on Charlestown Point, without opposition, under the protection of the before mentioned ships of war, whose well-directed fire kept the insurgents within their works. The troops formed in excellent order the moment they reached the shore: the light-infantry, under Brigadier Pigot, were posted on the right, and the grenadiers on the left; the 5th and 38th regiments were drawn up in the rear of those corps; and the 43d and 52d regiments made a third line. The rebels on the heights were in great force and strongly posted. Their numbers had enabled them, in the course of the night of the 16th, to throw up a redoubt and other works, on which they had mounted cannon. These works were full of men: and they had also posted a large body of troops in the houses of Charlestown, which covered their right flank. Their centre and left flank were covered by a breast-work, part of which was cannon-proof; and these works reached from the left of their redoubt to the Mystic or Medford river.

The very great appearance of the enemy's strength on the heights, and the large columns which were seen pouring to their assistance, being represented to General Gage, he ordered a reinforcement, consisting of some companies of grenadiers and

and light-infantry, the 47th regiment, and the first battalion of marines, under the command of Major-General Clinton, making a body of troops of something more than two thousand men. General Howe, on being joined by this reinforcement, formed the corps under his command into two lines, and advanced towards the enemy's works. About half an hour after three o'clock, he began his attack by a brisk cannonade from his field-pieces and howitzers; the first and second lines advancing slowly, and frequently halting, to give time for the artillery to fire with more effect. The light-infantry were directed to force the left point of the breast-work, to take the enemy in flank; and the grenadiers to attack in front, supported by the 5th and 52d regiments. No troops could behave themselves better, or exert themselves more to execute their orders, than his Majesty's did upon this occasion; but the rebels, who were intrenched to the teeth, did not return a shot until the assailants were very near, when they poured in a heavy and an incessant fire upon them. For some time they withstood this, but their loss of officers and men, who were quite exposed to the enemy, becoming very great, the troops recoiled a little, and fell into disorder. General Howe and the other officers, with the greatest intrepidity, rallied the foldiers. At this time, the General pointing out to Admiral Graves, who was near him, the mischief which his left wing sustained by the enemy's fire from the houses of Charlestown, the Admiral asked him, if he wished to have that place destroyed? And being answered in the affirmative, orders were immediately sent for the ships to fire red-hot balls, (which had been prepared with this intention) and also to the Cope's-hill battery to throw carcasses into Charlestown. These orders were instantly obeyed, and had the intended effect. The place was presently in flames; the steeple of the church being composed of wood, from it a warm and well-directed fire had been kept up, full of armed people, and all in a blaze; soon after, the rebels were forced to abandon the town. At this instant, General Howe renewed his attack; and notwithstanding the various impediments thrown in the way
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of the King's troops, he pursued his point and carried the redoubt. The insurgents were then driven successively from all their works, and forced to abandon the peninsula, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them. At the beginning of the action, the rebels had at least five thousand men; and the loss they sustained in killed and wounded was very considerable. Many of them they conveyed off in waggons during the conflict, as only thirty of their killed were found in their works, when the King's troops forced them; among which number was their Commander, Doctor Warren, a physician, who on this occasion had acted as a Major-General.

In this action, the loss sustained by the British troops, considering the numbers that were engaged, was great beyond example. Eighteen officers, and upwards of two hundred men, were killed on the spot; and sixty-eight officers, and seven hundred and fifty-eight men, were wounded; † many of whom died, or were completely disabled from farther service. Among the officers who died of their wounds, the public and the service sustained a great loss by the deaths of Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie and Major Pitcairn.

The spirit of disaffection to his Majesty's Government having now become almost general among the revolted colonies, on the 18th of June, the artificers of Boston refused to work on a brig then building for his Majesty's service. The Admiral found it necessary, and the Governor gave his consent, to order an impress of shipwrights, caulkers, and seamen. By this means between two and three hundred men were collected; many of the sailors were retained for the ships of war, and the artificers, after some days confinement, consented to do the work required, and were released.*

Captain

† See Note 24.

* From the rapid progress which disaffection to the parent state had made in the colonies, the Admiral found it impossible for him, with the few ships and vessels under his command, to provide a sufficient number of cruisers for intercepting the enemy's supplies of provisions and military stores, and at the same time ships for protecting commerce and the fisheries; especially as several of his
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Captain (now Sir James) Wallace, with the *Ross* frigate and *Swan* sloop, continued at Rhode Island, where he did important service to Government, not only by keeping that island in obedience, but by seizing supplies of provisions intended for the enemy at Providence; and sending those to Boston for the use of the navy and army. There such supplies were much wanted, because all communication with the country was cut off; and the few who, prompted by inclination or allured by the prospect of exorbitant gain, ventured to bring in provisions, were, when discovered, severely punished for this commerce by the ruling powers.

The action at Bunker's Hill made the Congress of the revolted colonies see the absolute necessity there was, for having a proper person to command their army and direct their military operations; and in this important business, they did not discover less penetration and judgment than they had done in most of their former proceedings. Their choice fell on George Washington, Esq; of the province of Virginia, whom they appointed Generalissimo and Commander in Chief of all their forces in America. He arrived at the camp, near Cambridge, on the 2d of July, and assumed the command. Time has since fully evinced what a judicious choice Congress made on this occasion. From the day that Mr. Washington directed the operations of the Americans, the fatigue and distresses of the British in Boston greatly increased; and so completely were they hemmed in, that a stop was put to all offensive operations on their side: while on the contrary, the activity and courage displayed by the rebels, refuted those ill-founded aspersions of want of spirit and resolution, which had been thrown out against them in England.

The possession of Bunker's Hill, which was now made a strong

squadron were necessarily employed to the southward, in protecting the persons of his Majesty's servants and subjects. From the same cause, the Admiral had it not in his power to send any vessel to the northward of Halifax, except the *Gaspée* brig; the *Tartar* frigate being obliged to remain there, for the protection of the port, the dock-yard, and naval stores

strong fortified post, was attended with its inconveniencies. By extending the quarters of the army, which were formerly very much circumscribed, it divided its force, and nearly doubled its duty. Blocked up by an enemy whom they regarded with great contempt, but whose activity now cut them off from all the refreshments they so very much wanted, and which the environs of Boston afforded in the greatest plenty; the situation of the British forces at this period must have been galling in the extreme.

No sooner had the British firmly established a post on Bunker's Hill, than the rebels formed one directly opposite to it on their side of Charlestown-neck, which kept the troops there as closely invested as those in the town of Boston. They were also indefatigable in fortifying all their posts, and so alert in guarding them, that General Gage could never effect any thing against them by surprise. On the contrary, they succeeded but too often in designs of this sort, and even took and burnt the guard-house on Boston-neck.

For a considerable time General Washington was so sparing of his ammunition, as plainly to indicate that he was scarce of powder; but the Congress devised means to obtain a supply of that article, before they had any commerce with the French or Dutch merchants. Early in the month of August, an armed sloop from Philadelphia, and a schooner from Charlestown in South Carolina, repaired to the island of Bermuda, seized on the principal magazine, containing one hundred barrels of gunpowder, which they carried off. This scheme was, in all probability, executed by the connivance of some pretended friends to Government. At any rate, the situation of the magazine in a great measure justified the enterprize, as it was far distant from the town, and had no dwelling-house near it.

General Gage, having ample magazines of military stores in Boston, often cannonaded and bombarded the enemy's advanced posts: but the destruction of a few houses, and the loss of some men, were all the injuries which they sustained from these attacks. Far from compelling the rebels to retreat, they served

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ed only to familiarize them to danger. Even a part of the reinforcements sent from England tended to embarrass the British army. A regiment of light dragoons which arrived at Boston, and which had never been able to move beyond the limits of the garrison, created new wants, and found employment for a number of vessels to transport hay for the horses. Some of the hay collected at a small port in the Bay of Fundy, in Nova Scotia, was burnt by a party of the Americans. That the hay which grew on the islands in the harbour or bay of Boston, as well as the cattle which grazed there, became objects of frequent contention between the British troops and their opponents, we have already seen. The enemy having, with great labour and assiduity, assembled a number of stout whale-boats, made frequent and successful incursions in the night, on the different islands where the live stock collected for the use of the British navy and army were kept, and either killed or carried it wholly off. This added much to the distress of the army.

In this sort of insulting war, the enemy grew daring from success. They burnt the light-houses situated at the entrance of Boston harbour, though one of these stood on an island, and had a ship of war stationed within a mile of it. The principal light-house was ordered to be repaired: and artificers, under the protection of a small party of marines, were sent to perform this duty; but they were surprised by a party of the enemy from the continent, and all of them carried off.

When the strength of the British navy, which had then no enemy in Europe to oppose, is duly considered, it becomes a matter of the greatest astonishment, that a force had not been sent out with Admiral Graves, of sufficient strength to have enabled him to act with vigour and effect. If this had been done, he could have afforded ample protection to the servants of the British Government, and to such of the colonists as continued attached to Britain. He could also have protected the magazines established at the different ports in America, and greatly obstructed the efforts of the insurgents to obtain supplies

plies of arms and all sorts of military stores. The smallness of the force allotted for this service appears to be the more unaccountable, as Administration was early apprized of the steps which the discontented colonies were taking, and of the number of ships they were preparing in their ports : nor were even the few ships, destined for the American station, properly supplied with naval and ordnance stores. The Admiral could not, without difficulty, arm the two schooners which he had found it necessary to purchase. At Halifax, he could procure only three four-pounders. He was, therefore, obliged to take nine four-pounders from the guns brought from Castle William and Mary at Piscataway, with their appurtenances; and also to appropriate to the same service, the quarter-deck guns of the Tartar. So poorly was the squadron manned and equipped, that when the Cerberus was ordered to sail for England, the Admiral caused her marines and officers to be distributed among such ships of the squadron as stood most in need of them, and her quarter-deck guns, with the ordnance stores belonging to them, to be left at Boston.

At Portsmouth, the capital of the province of New Hampshire, where his Majesty's ship the Scarborough was stationed, the people were much disaffected to the British Government. After the action at Bunker's Hill, they openly resisted its authority, and were prevented from marching a body of forces to assist at the blockade of Boston, only by the necessitous and impoverished state of the province. As Captain Barclay was very active in restraining their trade, and in assisting his Majesty's Governor, the people threatened to drive away or to destroy the Scarborough. They planted guns against Governor Wentworth's house, which compelled him to seek for safety on board of that ship, and fired at her boats. The measure often recommended by Captain Barclay, of securing the money in the treasury belonging to the province by putting it on board the frigate, owing to some neglect, had been so long delayed, that the people seized it and carried it off. Soon after

after that event, the Captain dismantled Fort William and Mary near Portsmouth.*

The squadron being in want of boats, the Admiral applied to General Gage to have those in the town of Boston, belonging to the disaffected Americans, delivered up to him for his Majesty's use. To this his Excellency consented; and the Admiral promised, that when a legal claimant should appear, payment would be made by his Majesty's naval storekeeper, according to the accustomed prices of such boats. This step was the more necessary, as the enemy were extremely busy in collecting a great number of whale-boats, in all the creeks and harbours round Boston, and were exceedingly troublesome by their nocturnal excursions on the several islands in its harbour and bay. About this time, they also began to fit out armed vessels, and to cruize on the coast. Thus were they enabled not only to watch their own homeward-bound trade, and to direct their vessels to steer a course by which they might avoid the British cruisers, but also to make prizes of several ships of that nation coming to Boston from England, and from the Bay of Fundy with provisions, hay, and fuel. Some armed craft from the port of Mechias attacked his Majesty's armed schooner *Margueritta*, commanded by Mr. Moore, a midshipman belonging to the *Preston*, when, after a most obstinate conflict, in which he and several of his crew were killed, and many wounded, the survivors were made prisoners and sent up the country. The defence made by Mr. Moore and his crew is the more meritorious, that his schooner had no carriage-guns; and was armed only with swivels, blunderbusses, and small arms. She was escorting four vessels with fuel to Boston for the use of the army, which the enemy captured at the same time.

Parties of the American forces being very troublesome to the post on Bunker's Hill, the General made application to the Admiral for two scows, or large open flat-bottomed boats, to be manned and armed, and stationed at Charlestown-neck;

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* The reader will find in the Appendix, in what manner Vice-Admiral Graves stationed the fleet under his command at this time. (See Note 25.)

and soon after, for a third, to be stationed at Boston-neck, as outposts to the army. The scows were immediately ordered for this service; and directions given for the Somerset, Boyne, and Preston, to send in turn a Lieutenant, two Midshipmen, and thirty-five seamen, on this duty. Thirty-six seamen were also put on board the Symmetry armed transport, and appointed to assist in guarding the mouth of Charles' river, and the Falcon sloop was directed to anchor between Hull Point and Pettick's Island. Orders were likewise given to Captain Linzee to examine every boat or vessel that passed; to seize all that belonged to the enemy; and to endeavour to obtain information of the whale-boats, which, according to report, they intended to bring across the isthmus from Weymouth and Dorchester, to Kingham and the neighbouring villages.

Vice-Admiral Graves had observed, that the sharp construction and great draught of water of the men of war's boats, rendered them very unfit for the necessary and frequent service of going up the narrow creeks, which abound in the vicinity of Boston. As these creeks were in many places so narrow as not to admit of their turning, and so shallow as to endanger their taking the ground, it was often hardly practicable for them to retreat: and both the boats and their crews were in danger of falling into the enemy's hands. To obviate these disadvantages, he invented a boat of a particular construction, which was thirty-six feet in length, twelve in breadth, and so formed as to row with either end foremost. Having the greatest draught of water in the middle, and from thence gradually shallowing towards the extremities by means of her curved keel, she was admirably formed for moving quickly forward or backward, without the necessity of winding round. Thus she could, in all cases, approach the shore or make off from it with equal ease and speed, as occasion should require. Her peculiar construction facilitated even her turning, where there was room. She mounted a four pounder at each end, had eight swivels upon the sides, rowed with twenty oars, carried seventy-five men, and when armed and accoutred with a
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week's provisions of all kinds complete, drew only nine or ten inches of water at most. She was steered with an oar in a grummet, and would out-row the fleetest of the navy barges. If she should happen to run aground in the eagerness of pursuit, or in the night, the rowers had only to face about on their present seats, or upon the next thwarts, to pull in the contrary direction, and she went off in a moment. Each bow was secured by a mantlet of ox hides, and proof against musquetry, and the piece of ordnance placed there, by moving in a groove, could be pointed in any direction.

That the rebels should be well informed of the exact situation of the fleet and army at Boston is little to be wondered at, considering the number of avowed friends which they had in the town; but it is matter of surprise, that notwithstanding the number of professed friends, which Government was supposed to have on the continent of America, either the inclination or the power was wanting in them, to transmit such intelligence of the designs of the enemy, as might be the means of frustrating any of their depredatory excursions. With such secrecy and dispatch did they conduct their expeditions to the islands in the bay, that the flames of the houses and the hay generally gave the first intimation of the attack.

In the month of July, the enemy sent one hundred and five boats to Long Island, where they landed a great number of men, who took and carried off all the stock. One of this party was a seaman belonging to his Majesty's sloop Falcon, who had been made a prisoner by the enemy in a vessel which she had taken, and which they afterwards retook. He had been placed by them as a sentinel; and while they were employed in driving off the stock, concealed himself until they left the island, when he swam to a canoe laying at a little distance from the shore, and by that means got on board the Boyne. This man, whom the enemy had forced into their service, was the first who gave the Admiral and General an exact account of their having collected near three hundred whale-boats, which, from their lightness and drawing but little water, could not
only

only row much faster than our boats, but by getting into shoal water, or in calms, could with certainty effect their escape.

Several reports concerning the designs of the enemy were, about this time, circulated by the disaffected in Boston. It was said, that they intended to land a considerable body of their troops in the night, at the most defenceless part of the town; to co-operate with which, their army at Roxbury would, at the same time, make a general assault on the lines. These efforts, favoured by the confusion which they would occasion in the garrison, and by the aid which they expected from their friends in the place, might enable them to defeat the King's troops and obtain possession of Boston; or they would attempt in a calm night, by boarding them in great numbers, to surprise and carry off some of the King's frigates. This last stratagem was more to be apprehended than the former, as the enemy could not fail to know, that the complement of men on board the principal ships was defective, and that the seamen had hard duty to perform. The Admiral was at this time obliged to keep a number of men and officers in flat-bottomed and floating-battery boats, placed in shoal water to flank Boston and Charlestown-necks; to man a large armed transport and a sloop; and occasionally to lend men to the transports ordered on service, in place of those who had deserted. In the squadron, the frigates, sloops, and schooners, were seldom without men drawn from the line of battle ships, which by that means were sometimes unavoidably left in a weak and almost defenceless state. From the weakness of the crews on board the frigates and sloops, their officers could not be easy when at anchor near an active and numerous enemy, who were well supplied with excellent small craft. To this detail must be added, that several of the squadron were in so bad a condition, as scarce to be able to keep the sea, particularly the Tamer, Cruizer, and Scorpion, which last was so defective, that when ordered by the Admiral to anchor off the light-house while it was repairing, to prevent it from being totally destroyed

destroyed by the rebels, her commander, Captain Tollemache, made a strong representation of the unfitness of his ship for such a service, where they run the greatest hazard every night of being boarded by the enemy's boats : "The Scorpion," says he, "is almost the only vessel in his Majesty's service, upon which an enemy with only small arms could effect any execution ; but she is without waist, and her decks consequently without cover. The men are entirely exposed to the enemy's fire ; nor is this the only difficulty in defending her : from the negligence of the builder of the dock-yard she came from, there is neither eye-bolt or ring-bolt in the decks to run the guns in, and not expecting such service, the sloop was not provided with netting to prevent her from being boarded." Fortunately the Merlin coming in from a cruise, the Admiral was enabled to relieve the Scorpion, which was ordered up to the town to be properly fitted for sea.

On the night of the 2d of August, the Symmetry armed transport, stationed in the mouth of Charles' river, discovered a great number of the enemy's boats, rowing very softly towards the town of Boston, whereupon she made the private signal ; and the enemy finding that they were discovered, immediately retired.

Such movements of the enemy gave the officers of the navy great uneasiness, lest these boats, which were frequently attended by large sloops, which perhaps might be fitted up as fire-ships, should attempt to burn the large ships while at anchor, and far from assistance. The Captains of the Somerset and Boyne represented their disagreeable situations in very forcible terms to the Admiral, who had it not in his power to administer the relief they wished. On the contrary, his strength was diminished, for the Somerset was so much out of repair, notwithstanding all that had been done to her, that the Admiral was forced to order her to Halifax to beave down. However, before she sailed, an expedition was undertaken, in consequence of intelligence that the enemy had between two and three hundred whale-boats concealed in a wood, on the banks of German

town river, the destruction of which was an object of the greatest importance. The command of the enterprize was given to Captain Robinson of the Preston, who had all the marines of the Squadron, and the following boats put under his command, viz. three from the Somerset, three from the Boyne, three from the Preston, and the Scorpion's pinnace : the whole well armed, and provided with every thing necessary to set fire to the whale-boats. They rendezvoused aftern of the Spit-fire armed sloop, at ten o'clock at night of the 30th of July, and from thence proceeded down the harbour. It proved a very dark night ; and in order to deceive the enemy, the General ordered a brisk cannonade to be kept up on the rebels post at Roxbury, from Boston lines and Charlestown camp, and also a great number of shells to be thrown at the same place during the night, in hopes of leading them to suspect that a general attack would be made on their works the next morning, and of thereby preventing them from sending out detachments to oppose Captain Robinson.

The channel of the river of German town was known to be intricate, but Captain Robinson was furnished with two pilots who knew the navigation. If they had proved faithful, there remains little doubt that the enterprize would have succeeded. But whether it was, that they were disaffected to the British interest, or apprehensive of their fate if they should happen to be made prisoners by the enemy, it is certain, that they became much alarmed as they approached the shore, and could no longer give clear directions. Every method to inspire them with courage was tried to no purpose : rewards and threatenings were alike ineffectual : they continued in a manner petrified : and as the success of the expedition solely rested upon them, there being no person in the detachment who could supply their place, it became necessary to abandon it ; and Captain Robinson, with the utmost reluctance, was obliged to retreat down the river, which he did a little before day-break. He had proceeded but a short way, when he was alarmed with a firing of musquetry at the light-house ; on which he instantly rowed towards it
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with his whole detachment, being then within a mile or two of it: but the enemy, who had finished their business, made off at his approach as fast as they could, across the light-house channel to Hull beach, all of them escaping excepting two boats, which Captain Robinson's party took. They were a part of a detachment of the rebel troops, who came in forty whale-boats, and landed on the island to destroy the light-house, which was then repairing. The artificers, who were Americans, and guarded by a party of marines commanded by an officer, had been observed to give the soldiers liquor, so that when the attack was made, the greatest part of the guard was intoxicated, and unfit to make a proper resistance. They were, in consequence, soon overpowered by superior numbers, and endeavoured to retreat to a sloop lying off the island, which most of them reached; but in their hurry the sloop got aground, which being perceived by the enemy, they boarded and carried her. Several of the King's forces were killed and wounded; among the former was Lieutenant Coulthurst, who commanded the party of marines: his body was found on board of one of the boats taken by Captain Robinson's detachment.

The surprizing of the party sent to guard the light-house vexed the Admiral very much, as from the report of the engineer who had been sent to survey it, he had reason to believe that the thirty marines were capable of defending the place against a thousand men; but they appear to have been solely intent upon preserving themselves by flight. The Preston's boat, commanded by a midshipman,* attended them; and Captain Bishop of the Lively, in Nantasket road, had directions to give them all possible assistance, and also to agree upon signals to be made in case of danger, but these signals were never made. The midshipman, who certainly did every thing in his power to make the soldiers defend the light-house, fortunately made his escape in a long boat with two men, and although closely pursued, got safe on board the Lively. Some
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* Mr. Christopher Hele, afterwards made Lieutenant. He was unfortunately killed in the great sea fight off the island of Dominica, April 12th, 1782.

of the people made prisoners on this occasion escaped from the enemy, after they were landed at Hull beach, and returned in Captain Robinson's boats.

Captain Linzee, of his Majesty's sloop the Falcon, being on a cruize off Cape Anne, on the 8th of August discovered two schooners standing in for the shore. He made sail after them, and very soon came up with the sternmost, which he took. The other got into Cape Anne, or Gloucester harbour, where he followed her: and when he had come to an anchor, he sent Lieutenant Thornborough with the pinnace, long-boat, and jolly-boat, armed and manned, to bring her out. The Master of the Falcon, at this time arriving from sea in a small tender, was ordered to assist the Lieutenant, and join in the enterprize. When the boats had passed a point of rocks which lay between the ship and the schooner, they received a very heavy fire from the rebels concealed behind houses and rocks; notwithstanding which, Lieutenant Thornborough undauntedly proceeded, boarded and took possession of the schooner. On this expedition, he and three other men were wounded from the shore. Captain Linzee, when he saw the insurgents firing at the boats, in order to draw their attention another way, aimed his fire at the town; but finding that this expedient had not the desired effect, he next attempted, by landing a party, to burn it. Among the sailors sent upon this service was an American, who had hitherto done his duty, but now espoused the cause of his countrymen, set fire to the powder before it was so placed as to produce the intended conflagration, and thereby frustrated the enterprize. He then deserted. The loss sustained in this exploit was one man blown up. A second attempt was made to burn the town, but also without effect.

Captain Linzee, being at last convinced that he could not materially injure the town, had the Lieutenant and his party brought on board about four o'clock, under cover of the fire from the schooner, in which the Master now commanded, and in which he was obliged to remain, on account of the damage which the boats had sustained from the enemy's shot. When
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the Captain was informed of the Master's situation, he sent the prize schooner to anchor ahead of the other, and to veer along-side, to take him and the people away; but having no officer to conduct this enterprize, it was improperly executed, and therefore unsuccessful. Meanwhile the Master, harrassed by a heavy fire from increasing numbers, and seeing no prospect of relief, delivered himself up to the enemy about seven in the evening, along with a gunner, fifteen seamen, seven marines, one boy, and ten pressed Americans. On his going ashore, the schooner sent to his assistance ran in, and was retaken by the rebels.

It was Captain Linzee's conjecture, that part of the crew had been concealed in the schooner's hold when she was taken, and that they had seized this opportunity of regaining their liberty. The enemy likewise took the pinnace and jolly-boat, three swivels, some small arms, and two small anchors, with one hawser intended to warp out the schooner. The Falcon remained at anchor till next morning, and then warped out of the harbour.

On this occasion, the loss which the navy sustained by the capture of the British sailors, was chiefly to be regretted; because, in America, experience had shown how difficult it was to replace them, and how little the seamen of that country were to be trusted.

On the 10th of October, Captain Collins of his Majesty's sloop the Nautilus, chased and drove ashore near Beverly bar, a schooner belonging to the rebels, which he intended to burn. But while he was preparing for that purpose, the tide left her; and his firing at her brought such numbers of the insurgents to her assistance, that he found it impossible to execute his design, and therefore desisted. The Nautilus, by casting the wrong way, was obliged to leave an anchor behind, and unfortunately took the ground. While in that situation, the enemy, who had brought some cannon along with them, fired from the shore and hulled her several times. Her sails, rigging, and main-mast were greatly damaged, and two of her men wounded. The
enemy's

enemy's guns were so placed between rocks, that no certain aim could be taken at them. This rendered the fire returned by the sloop of no avail. As soon as she was again afloat, Captain Collins put to sea.

The garrison of Boston being very much in want of fresh provisions, some empty transports, under convoy of a frigate, a sloop of war, and a few armed vessels, were dispatched to Long Island sound, in hopes of there procuring a supply. On the 11th of August, they reached Gardiner's plain and Black islands, from which they brought off about sixty fat cattle, three cows, upwards of eight hundred sheep, a thousand pound weight of cheese, a great many hogs and poultry, and with this stock returned in safety.

Early in the morning of the 24th of August, a mob assembled at New York, and carried off the guns from the battery fronting the sea. They likewise fired some musquetry at a boat belonging to his Majesty's ship *Asia*, by which one man was killed. Captain Vandeput on being informed of this, ordered a broadside to be fired, aiming at the place where the mob was assembled; but it did not prevent their removing the cannon. Soon after this, the rebel committees at that place interdicted the King's ships from receiving any supply of fresh provisions from the shore.

At Newport, Rhode Island, Captain Wallace of his Majesty's ship the *Rose*, and the other ships and vessels under his command, continued with the greatest activity to distress the enemy. In the Secconet Passage, he took a sloop laden with flour, which she was carrying from Philadelphia to Swansea, for the use of the disaffected Americans. He also took, on the 30th of August, a large sloop belonging to them, which had escorted some of their troops employed in taking the stock off Black island. She was chased by the *Rose* and her tender into Stonnington harbour, where she run close to the wharf. The tender followed, and upon coming up with the sloop, poured a broadside into her. The *Rose* soon after came to an anchor, and bringing her guns to bear on the town, Captain
Wallace

Wallace began a cannonade, which he continued several hours with very little intermission, and severely damaged many of their store and dwelling-houses. He boarded the sloop, which he carried off, together with two small vessels laden with molasses from the West Indies. Having weighed anchor on the 7th of October, he sailed with his little fleet from Newport up the river, entered the harbour of Bristol, and demanded a supply of three hundred sheep; which the inhabitants refusing, he immediately began to cannonade the town, and continuing to fire for upwards of an hour, did considerable damage to several of the houses. The inhabitants perceiving the mischief already done, sent a Committee on board the Rose to accommodate matters with Captain Wallace, who then made the signal for the firing to cease; and after agreeing to accept of forty sheep, which were delivered to him next morning, he weighed anchor and left the harbour.

The increasing strength of the revolted colonies at this time, may be imputed to the dilatory conduct of Administration, in omitting to furnish the Admiral and General with sufficient powers to act with vigour against them. If the Admiral had been authorized to seize their trading vessels, with which the seas were covered, their resources would in a great measure have been cut off; and they might have been deprived of ships, (which they afterwards converted into privateers) and of men for navigating them. Of these consequences the rebel Congress appear to have been sensible, when on the 22d of July, they resolved that all their ports should be shut from the 10th of September. But it was not until the 4th of October, that the Raven sloop, Captain Stanhope, brought out instructions to the Admiral and General, empowering them to take and destroy all vessels belonging to the revolted Americans, and to attack and demolish such towns and seaports as were inimical to his Majesty. The Admiral, in expectation of such orders, had prepared a squadron of small vessels, with a suitable detachment of marines, the command of which he conferred on
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the distance of two miles from the sea coast. In an excursion which his Lordship made on the 20th, he brought off six pieces of ordnance; and in another which he made on the day following, he brought off ten pieces of cannon, two cohorn mortars, about sixty musquets, and a great quantity of cannon balls of different sizes. In these landings, his Lordship made several prisoners; among whom was a Deputy of the Provincial Convention, and a Captain of the minute-men.

On the 25th of the same month, he appeared before the town and port of Hampton, in Virginia. The inhabitants being prepared for such an attack, immediately sunk boats full of stones at the entrance of the harbour, and by throwing every obstacle in his way, took such other measures, as prevented his Lordship from being able to disembark his land-forces. During the night, a passage was made for the ship to get into the harbour, which she accordingly entered next morning by day-break, and immediately commenced a cannonade. At this critical time, the inhabitants were relieved from their fears, by the arrival of a strong detachment of rifle and minute-men* from Williamsburg. An express had been dispatched to that place, when the squadron first made its appearance, and the rebel troops had marched during the night to the assistance of their countrymen, who now made so gallant a defence, that Lord Dunmore was obliged to draw off in the evening, without effecting his purpose.

This sort of war made the insurgents think seriously of some means of protecting their coasts: and in this business, the rebel Assembly of the province of Massachusetts Bay took the lead. They passed an act for granting letters of marque and reprisal against British ships, and for establishing Courts of Admiralty for trying and condemning them. In this law their views were circumscribed: as they declared, that the only intention of it was the defence of the coasts and navigation of America; and extended the power of it only to the capturing of such ships, as should be employed in bringing supplies to the fleets and armies acting against them.

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* Men who were to turn out on a minute's warning.

The enemy having threatened to invade the province of Nova Scotia, and to destroy the King's magazines at Halifax, a reinforcement of troops was sent from Boston to that place, and Captain Le Cras was ordered to hoist a broad pendant, and take command of the King's ships there. He was also instructed to assist his Majesty's Governor, in putting every thing in such order as might enable them to defeat all the designs of the rebels.

General Gage having obtained his Majesty's leave to return to England, sailed from Boston the 12th of October; when the command of the British land-forces in America devolved on Major-General Howe.

The colony of Georgia, notwithstanding the particular favours which Britain had conferred on it, joined the general confederacy; and his Majesty's Governors of North and South Carolinas, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, and Hampshire, were obliged to quit their respective places of residence, and retire on board his Majesty's ships. The Governors of all the southern colonies, together with the Governors of the Bermudas and Bahama islands, had made repeated application to Vice-Admiral Graves to send them some ships of war: and it gave him the greatest uneasiness, that he was unable to afford them the succour which they so much needed, owing to his Squadron being short of the complement of seamen, and inadequate to the necessary duty at Boston. Even the ships of war which had arrived immediately from England were so poorly fitted out, as seldom to be able to go to sea without repairs.* It was likewise very improvident to allow unarmed transports,

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* As a proof of this, we give the following letter, which was written to Admiral Graves by the late Captain Price, of his Majesty's sloop the Viper, on being ordered to sea :

" I am very much distressed for Petty Officers, as well as Warrants; my Carpenter infirm, and past duty; my Gunner, made from a livery servant, neither seaman nor gunner; my Master a man in years, never an officer before, made from a B. on board one of the guardships, he then keeping a public-house at Gosport. Petty Officers I have but one, who owns himself mad at times.

with cargoes of military stores of great value, to sail from England without convoy. Several of them were, in consequence of this negligent conduct, taken by the rebel cruizers; and others carried into their ports by their own masters or crews, who hoped that Congress would liberally reward their treachery. Thus, the insurgents got unexpected supplies of the articles which they so much wanted. The public were at an immense expence in providing all sorts of stores, provisions, and necessaries, for the fleet and army in America; but unfortunately, the vessels on board of which they were put were so long of sailing from England, that neither the fleet nor army reaped any benefit from them. They arrived on the American coast when strong periodical north-west winds prevailed. These blew with such violence this year, that not one of the vessels were able to reach the port of Boston; where the situation both of the fleet and army became every day more and more uncomfortable.

As the population of America increased, and its inhabitants beheld their rising power and importance, it was natural for them to speculate upon circumstances so flattering to their national ambition; and to foresee and foretel, that in the progress of undefined futurity, America must one day shake off her dependence upon Britain, and become herself a great and independent Empire. Nor can it admit of a doubt, that in America, many delighted in the contemplation of such a prospect, and in conversing on the probabilities of its being some day realized, long before there was any disagreement with the parent state. Familiarized to a speculation so pleasing, and interested in the hope of witnessing so great an event, the minds of the colonists were probably more irritable than they would otherwise

"times. A Master's Mate I have not, nor any one I can make a Boatswain's Mate. I have not one person I could trust with the charge of a vessel, I might take to bring her in.

"I thought it my duty to inform you of the real state of the ship, before she proceeded to sea.

"I am, &c.

"DAVID PRICE."

wife have been, when they thought that the British Government neglected their complaints, and refused redress to their grievances. But whatever might have been the original views of the leading men among the Americans, when the first causes of discontent arose, the progress which hostilities had now made, aggravated by the occurrences of a predatory war, had inflamed the vindictive passions, and carried both parties beyond the bounds of reconciliation. The disaffected Americans, encouraged by the stand which they had already made, and by their views of increasing strength, looked boldly forward to the consequences of a successful struggle, for establishing an independent government of their own; and, animated by these hopes, determined to confine their operations no longer to defensive measures: but, in their turn, to assail their enemies where they supposed them to be most vulnerable. They had taken care, by their emissaries, to be well informed of the disposition of the inhabitants of Canada towards them: and they found that the British Ministry were deceived, when they supposed that the conciliatory act of Parliament, passed in the last session, had attached the Canadians to the cause of Britain; and on that presumption, had sent to Quebec military stores and small arms for equipping the militia of that province. On the contrary, the inhabitants of Canada were far from being satisfied with the concessions of Britain; and in particular, were highly displeased with the unlimited powers which had been vested in the Governor. Under these impressions, the majority of them were more disposed to give a favourable reception to the rebel Americans, than to co-operate with the measures of Government to resist them.

In the invasion of Canada, the rebel Congress had it in view to strengthen their cause, by attaching another province to the American league; and they were encouraged to look for success from the smallness of the British force under Governor Carleton, and from the probability of their being joined by the disaffected. The hope that, by possessing so important a colony, they might obtain a more favourable compromise, if they

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should

should be reduced to the necessity of coming to an accommodation with the mother-country; and the prospect of seizing the grand military magazines at Quebec, stimulated their exertions to complete this plan, before any succours should arrive in the spring from England. They determined to invade Canada from two different quarters. The first, and most formidable force, was to proceed from Crown Point; and, by crossing Lake Champlain in batteaux, to land near the Isle aux Noix. After making themselves masters of the forts on the river Sorell, they were to march against the city of Montreal, which, as it was a place of inconsiderable strength, they supposed they could easily take, and then fall down the river to Quebec. By the time of their arrival there, they hoped that their second army might also be before the city, or at least on the banks of the river St. Lawrence; and ready to co-operate with their Generals Schuyler and Montgomery,* who were appointed to conduct the rebel army from Crown Point.† This army consisted of a body of New York and New England troops, to the amount of two thousand five hundred men. Scarcely were they assembled there, when they received intelligence, that some armed vessels of considerable force were preparing at Fort St. John's, to proceed to the lake and watch their motions. This would have been death to their hopes; for as they had only batteaux and a few gun-boats, they could not pretend to encounter such a naval force: but they came to the determination of embarking all their troops and proceeding down the lake, to take such a position on the Isle aux Noix as would prevent the vessels from entering it, and from thence to proceed against Fort St. John. Having accordingly, on the sixth of September, secured this important pass, they proceeded towards the fort, distant about twelve miles, in hopes of carrying it by a *coup de main*; but in this they were disappointed. The garrison, apprized of their approach, as soon as they made their appearance,

* A native of Ireland, who had but just sold his company in his Majesty's 17th regiment of foot, and settled at New York; where, a few years before, he had married the daughter of a Mr. Livingston.

† See Note 27.

appearance, began such a warm cannonade, as obliged them to retire and keep at a distance. Soon after this, being attacked by some Indians in the British interest, they retreated to their asylum at the Isle aux Noix; resolving to wait there, until their artillery, stores, and reinforcements should arrive. To hasten their arrival, and to meet some nations of Indians, General Schuyler returned to Albany, where he fell sick. The chief command of this expedition devolved of course upon Mr. Montgomery, an officer of very considerable abilities, who had seen a great deal of service. The command of the second army, which Congress designed against Quebec, was given to Colonel Arnold, an officer whose name will often occur in the course of these Memoirs. This force consisted of about twelve hundred men, who left the camp at Cambridge in the middle of September, and marched to Newbury, where they embarked, and coasted along about forty leagues to Gardiner's town, at the mouth of the river Kennebec, in the province of New Hampshire. At this place they quitted their sloops, and embarked in two hundred batteaux, carrying their stores and provisions along with them. Perhaps few instances have been recorded, in ancient or modern history, of a military exploit that does more credit to its conductor than this. Whether we consider its spirit, its novelty, the difficulties that occurred, the hardships sustained in it, or the constancy and perseverance with which it was executed, all speak in its favour, and form a remarkable display of genius, activity, and zeal.*

While General Montgomery continued at the Isle aux Noix, he dispersed his parties over that part of the country, and with great address prevailed on the Indians who had joined General Carleton to withdraw, and return to their homes. The friendship of the savages is always precarious, and little to be depend-

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* A complete journal of Mr. Arnold's route up the river Kennebec to its source, and near to the source of the river Cheudieras, to which river they conveyed their batteaux, stores, &c. and so fell down with the stream, until they took post at Point Levi opposite to Quebec, would be too long to insert in the body of this work: but as this expedition is replete with curious particulars, for the reader's satisfaction, a particular account of it is inserted in the Appendix. (See Note 28.)

ed upon, when a superior enemy makes any advantageous offers to them. Mr. Montgomery being joined by the reinforcements he expected, prepared to besiege Fort St. John's; into which General Carleton had thrown a strong garrison, consisting of the greatest parts of the seventh and twenty-sixth regiments of foot, which were nearly all the regular troops he had in Canada. The place was well provided with stores, and he gave the command of it to Major Charles Preston of the twenty-sixth regiment, who, he was sure, would make a gallant defence, which might afford him time to collect and arm a force sufficient for raising the siege. At this period did the adventurer Ethan Allen, who had assumed the title of Colonel, draw together a small body of rebel American troops, and some disaffected Canadians, and with the utmost confidence, without the orders, or even the knowledge of General Montgomery, march against the city of Montreal, in hopes of signalizing and raising himself into importance by surprising it, as he had done the fort at Ticonderago. But having to deal with an officer, who was too alert to admit of his approaching the place unperceived, he received a check, which completely defeated his enterprize. On the twenty-fifth of September, he landed his party on the island of Montreal; and a few miles from the city he was intercepted on his march by the militia, under the command of British officers, supported by the few regular troops who were in the town, who attacked him with such vigour, that he was defeated and made prisoner, with near forty of his party. This success gave hopes to the brave Carleton, that he should be able to compel the insurgents to quit the province. Indefatigable in his endeavours to raise a force for that purpose, he was able to collect only a motley crew, consisting of about a thousand men. With these it was his intention to form a junction with Colonel Maclean, who was posted, with about three hundred Scotch Highland emigrants, newly raised, near the influx of the river Sorell into the river St. Lawrence; but in his endeavours to execute this plan, he was, on the second of October, attacked at Longueil, by a
strong

strong detachment of the rebels, who easily repulsed the Canadian militia, and obliged him to retire to Montreal.

General Montgomery now proceeded in his operations without farther interruption; his numbers being such as to command all the country to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and the Canadians supplying his army with plenty of all sorts of provisions. He besieged Fort St. John in form, but met with greater resistance than he had expected: and finding that his artillery was too light, and that he was likely to fall short of powder, he devised an expedient to remedy both these defects. He had been informed that Fort Chamblé, situated some miles down the Sorell from Fort St. John's, was not in a very defensible condition, although well supplied with artillery and stores. For a while he turned the siege of Fort St. John into a blockade, and sat down before Fort Chamblé, which was garrisoned by a small detachment of the seventh regiment, commanded by the Honourable Major Stopford. The place being incapable of defence, the Major was under the necessity of capitulating, on the 20th of October.* From the large supplies of artillery and military stores found in this place, General Montgomery was now enabled to resume his operations against Fort St. John, with much greater effect than before: but the garrison persevered in making a most obstinate defence, and underwent the greatest hardships, both from a scarcity of provisions and fuel; till at last, having no prospect of relief, Major Preston was necessitated to surrender on the third of November. He endeavoured to obtain a few days to deliberate, in hopes that General Carleton might be able to make some effort to save them; but on account of the lateness and severity of the season, this was refused.† As soon as General Montgomery became master of the fort, he pushed forward a strong detachment to the mouth of the Sorell, a place fortified with heavy artillery, which commanded the navigation of that part of the river St. Lawrence. The rebels got possession of it, and forced Colonel Maclean, with his emigrants, to retire to Quebec. General Carleton now found, that it would be impossible to

* See Note 29.

† See Note 30.

prevent the city of Montreal from falling into the hands of the enemy. He therefore caused a great quantity of military stores to be destroyed, and embarked the remainder, with Colonel Prescott, on board of eleven vessels, in hopes that they would be able to elude the vigilance of the rebels posted at the point of the Sorell, and fall down the river to Quebec. Several efforts were made for this purpose ; but the insurgents were so much on their guard, and their post was so well supplied with artillery, that all their endeavours to proceed down the river were unsuccessful, and the boats were obliged to retire towards Montreal, of which city General Montgomery took possession on the 12th of November. General Carleton dreading that his little fleet must also fall into the enemy's hands, endeavoured to make his escape by night, and getting into a row-boat with muffled paddles, kept close to the north shore, and fortunately was not perceived ; by which means, he reached Quebec on the 19th of November. The day after the escape of General Carleton, (November 17th) the rebels were making preparations for attacking the vessels ; on which Colonel Prescott capitulated. On board of the vessels were found the Colonel, eleven other officers, one hundred and twenty soldiers, besides sailors ; seven hundred and sixty barrels of flour, six hundred and seventy-five barrels of beef, three hundred and seventy-six firkins of butter, three barrels of gunpowder ; cannon, four nine and six pounders, with a great quantity of cannon-shot and gun-carriages ; eight chests of small arms, and a quantity of ammunition ; two hundred pair of shoes, and a great number of intrenching tools ; all of which articles proved an important acquisition to the insurgents. Before General Montgomery entered the city of Montreal, the inhabitants had proposed articles of capitulation, or rather a sort of general treaty ; but he entirely rejected it, because they were in no state of defence to entitle them to a capitulation, and were unable to fulfil any conditions into which they might enter. In order, however, to quiet their minds, and secure their affections, he returned them an answer in writing ; in which he
pledged

pledged his honour, that the continental army, having a generous disdain of every act of oppression and violence, and being come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security, would maintain in the peaceable possession of their property of every kind, the individuals and religious communities of the city of Montreal: and with these assurances they rested perfectly satisfied. Here he got his troops properly cloathed for the season, and the laborious enterprize they had undertaken; he soon after, began his march for Quebec, with about three thousand men, leaving some men in the forts he had taken and at Montreal, to which places the Congress immediately sent reinforcements, under General Wooster. In the mean time, Colonel Arnold, who had with great perseverance pursued his route, on the 7th of November he arrived on the south bank of the river St. Lawrence, and next day took possession of Point Levi, opposite to Quebec. The Lizard frigate, Hunter sloop, and an armed schooner, were ordered to be so stationed as to prevent the rebels from crossing the river, and all the boats that could be found were properly secured; but the Canadians were their friends, and not only supplied them with plenty of provisions, but collected thirty-five canoes, in which they conveyed the greatest part of Mr. Arnold's troops across the river, in the night of the 13th of November. Next day he cantoned his men in the neighbourhood of Quebec, to wait the arrival of General Montgomery with his troops from Montreal. On the 14th, he summoned the town to submit; but his flag was fired at from the ramparts. On the 19th, he made a movement towards Point au Tremble, about seven leagues above the city; and on that very day, General Carleton fortunately reached Quebec, to the great joy of the garrison and inhabitants, and instantly took every measure in his power to make as vigorous a defence as possible. He convened the merchants of the place, who, having very valuable property there, resolved to stand by the Governor. They were accordingly embodied; as were a corps of Canadian volunteers. These, with one company of the seventh regiment, a few artillery men, and the sailors belonging to his Majesty's ships, and the transports and trading vessels then

then at Quebec, constituted his motley garrison.* The Governor dispatched a vessel for England to give an account of his situation, and put into her a large quantity of gunpowder and small arms, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands, if by adverse accidents he should be compelled to surrender the city. He also obliged all persons, with their wives and children, who would not take arms in its defence, to quit the place. This was a very wise precaution; for by it, he got rid not only of the useless but of the disaffected, who were not a few. It proved a most fortunate circumstance for the garrison, that Colonel Arnold, when he crossed the river on the 13th, had left his scaling ladders with the troops he had posted at Point Levi; for if he had marched boldly up to the walls, immediately after his letter had been refused admittance on the 14th, it is next to a certainty that he might have carried the place by escalade: as no plan of defence had then been formed, every thing was in great confusion and uproar, and the numerous friends the enemy then had in the city, would have taken a decided part in his favour. General Carleton assigned a particular station, for each of the corps of which his garrison was composed; all was now regularity and good order: the King's ships were brought into the harbour; their men, headed by their own officers, were landed, and may be considered as a formidable regiment of artillery, which performed wonders during the siege.

General Montgomery and Colonel Arnold, having formed a junction of the forces under their respective commands at Point au Tremble, appeared before Quebec on the 5th of December; and the former, elated with the success which had hitherto attended his operations, since he took up arms against his

* Seventh regiment,	-	-	60
Colonel Maclean's regiment,	-	-	250
Marines,	-	-	40
Canadians,	-	-	200
British Militia,	-	-	520
Sailors,	-	-	450
Total,			1520

his Sovereign, sent a flag of truce, accompanied with a note, worded in very extraordinary terms, to General Carleton,* peremptorily requiring immediate possession of the town. The Governor treated it with the contempt which it deserved, and would not receive it, refusing to have any intercourse with the rebels unless they came to implore his Majesty's mercy. Mr. Montgomery, finding his threats made no impression on this worthy veteran, resolved to begin his operations; and in a few days opened upon the town a battery of five small mortars, and soon after another of six pieces of cannon: but the metal of both was too light to have any effect on the fortifications. At this time the snow lay deep on the ground, and the cold was intense; yet, the rebel soldiers bore the fatigues of the siege, with a fortitude that would have done credit to veteran troops. The enemy's General, finding that he was not likely to carry his point by regular approaches, resolved to alter his mode of attack, and to endeavour to make himself master of the place by storm. He had various reasons which stimulated him to this attempt. He wished to put an end, if possible, to the great fatigues of his soldiers. He feared, that as their time of service was near expiring, he might soon find it extremely difficult to keep them from demanding their discharges, disbanding, and seeking their way home. He was ashamed to retreat from before a place, whose garrison he had treated with insult; especially, after the assurances of conquest which he had given to Congress, who, in consequence of them, regarded Quebec as their own, from the time when their forces laid siege to it. All these considerations had great weight with Mr. Montgomery: and perhaps he thought more of them, than of the dangers he risked from persevering in his design, and of the insufficiency of his force for accomplishing such an enterprize. He continued his fire from his batteries, rather with a design to harass and amuse the garrison, than from any prospect of success by their effects upon the place; and he had hopes that this would prevent General Carleton from penetrating into his intentions. He wished

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* See Note 31.

ed to give a general alarm to the town; but his real attacks were destined against the upper town on the land-side. When all was ready for execution, three of his soldiers deserted, got into the town, and gave a full account of what was in agitation to General Carleton, who accordingly took every measure to make a most vigorous defence. By the precautions which Mr. Montgomery observed to be taking in the town, he conjectured that his scheme of assault had been discovered; but he was so prepossessed with the hopes of its success, that he would not relinquish the enterprize, and determined only to alter the mode of it, by changing his principal attacks from the upper to the lower town, next the river. There he supposed they would now be least expected; and also hoping to find but a feeble opposition, he thought that he would be able to penetrate into the heart of the place, before a sufficient force could be assembled to repel his assault. The morning of the 31st of December was chosen for putting his plan in execution; and at an early hour he made the following disposition of his forces. He divided them into four unequal detachments: the two smallest were ordered against the upper town as feints, but to go near enough the works to give their approach all the appearance of a real attack; the two largest were designed against different parts of the lower town, and to act with effect. The first of these divisions was conducted by Mr. Montgomery: the other by Mr. Arnold. The attacks, real and feigned, were to begin at the same time; and this Mr. Montgomery supposed would so distract the garrison, that either he or Mr. Arnold would find an opportunity to terminate the undertaking successfully. Every part of the town appeared to be equally threatened, from the side of the river St. Lawrence along the fortified front, and round the basin: the garrison was very alert, but it was not in the Governor's power, for some time, to determine where he was to apprehend the greatest danger.

Early in the morning of the 31st, the enemy's troops having paraded, with the proper officers at the head of their respective detachments, General Montgomery and Colonel Arnold moved

moved off first, but had a long detour to make before they could reach the places they intended to attack: they were favoured by a violent snow storm, and about five in the morning Mr. Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, arrived at a place called Aunce de Mere, immediately under Cape Diamond; and the signal for the assault having been given, it commenced. But the rebels had been discovered by a Captain of the Highlanders going his rounds, who ordered his drum to beat to arms; on which the garrison flew to their arms, and every man repaired to his post with the utmost alacrity. This was the situation of things, when Mr. Montgomery and his attendants, at the head of his troops, advanced to the assault. After having cut down some palisades which obstructed their way, they pushed on to the next barrier; where, as soon as they made their appearance, several cannon loaded with grape-shot were discharged with such good aim, that General Montgomery, his aid-de-camp, and a number of private men, were killed. A heavy fire of musquetry succeeded, by which this detachment, now headed by a Mr. Campbell, were so severely galled, that they were glad to seek for safety by a most precipitate retreat.

In the mean time, Mr. Arnold proceeded to put his orders in execution. The party he headed was composed chiefly of his brave associates, who had accompanied him from New England, supported by some New York artillery. Their attack was against that part of the lower town called the Saut aux Matelot: they penetrated through the suburb called St. Roques, and assaulted a small but well-defended battery, which they carried with considerable loss, after near an hour's resistance. Here Mr. Arnold was wounded in the leg by a musquet-ball, and obliged to be carried to their camp. His successor in command led on his men with spirit to the next barrier; but by this time, Mr. Montgomery's party having been defeated, General Carleton was enabled to bring a very considerable force against them. A great resistance was now made to them in front; and the Governor having observed
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how they were situated, ordered a strong sortie, accompanied by some field-pieces, to be made at the same time, under Captain Laws, who attacked them in the rear, and sent in many prisoners. Captain M'Dougal afterwards brought a reinforcement to Captain Laws, which attacked the enemy in the post they had taken. Nor would their condition have been mended by attempting to regain their camp; as they must necessarily have taken a route, where they would have been exposed to the cannon and musquetry of the town, at the distance of only fifty yards, for a very considerable length of way. Thus disagreeably circumstanced, and hemmed in on every side, they continued to make resistance for a long time; when having lost a number of men, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus, the corps under Mr. Arnold were caught as it were in a trap; himself and a few others, who were wounded and carried off early, were all that escaped: the remainder were either killed or made prisoners, many of the latter being wounded. On this occasion, the rebels lost between six and seven hundred men, and about fifty officers, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Governor Carleton sent a party who seized on their five mortars, and one of their cannon, and brought them into the town. The loss sustained by the British during this assault, consisted of one officer, viz. Lieutenant Matthew Anderson of the navy, acting as a Captain in the garrison, and four men killed, and seven wounded. After this check, the enemy withdrew their forces to the distance of about three miles from Quebec, and there fortified themselves; but kept the place so effectually blockaded, as to prevent any supplies from being thrown into it. General Carleton, as humane as he is brave, treated his prisoners with great kindness, and permitted the body of Mr. Montgomery to be buried with military honours. We will now turn from the garrison of Quebec to review the occurrences at Boston, and leave the remaining part of the narrative of this famous siege, until we come to treat of the operations in the year 1776.

It was the middle of November, before General Howe was able

able to get the army under his command into winter-quarters ; and soon after that, Major-General Burgoyne sailed for England, in his Majesty's ship the *Boyne*. Upon learning, that the Congress had ordered a large body of their forces to invade the province of Canada, General Howe was extremely desirous to send a reinforcement of troops to General Carleton at Quebec, with the utmost expedition, and made application to Vice-Admiral Graves for a ship of war to escort them thither. The Admiral would have complied cheerfully with this request, but the season of the year was by this time so far advanced, that he thought it necessary to consult with such of the navy officers as had been at Quebec, and were well acquainted with the navigation of the river St. Lawrence. They all gave it as their opinion, that it was impossible for a fleet of transports to proceed so late in the season to Quebec ; on which General Howe, with great reluctance, was forced to relinquish the design. Some frigates, one transport, having a company of the 7th regiment on board, and some ordnance ships and vessels, arrived at Boston from England, having on board three companies of the royal regiment of artillery. An ordnance ship, having on board stores of great value and importance, after being several times at the mouth of the harbour, and under the escort of a ship of war, was forced off the coast by tempestuous weather, separated from the King's ship, and at last taken by one of the enemy's small privateers, and carried into one of their ports. Had the three companies of artillery been distributed on board of the ordnance ships, this disaster might easily have been prevented. The line of battle ships being ordered to return to England, the Vice-Admiral sent the *Phoenix* of forty-four guns, Captain Hyde Parker, jun. to relieve the *Asia*, Captain Vandeput, at New York.

About this time, the rebel Congress declared it to be felony for any one to correspond with the King's subjects ; and exerted themselves in endeavouring to establish a naval force at Philadelphia and other of their ports, of which a Mr. Hopkins was appointed Commander in Chief.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the winter season and the severity of the weather, Admiral Graves kept his squadron extremely active, and sent out as many frigates and sloops as he could possibly spare from the port duty at Boston, to cruize in order to prevent the enemy's privateers from picking up any of the ships with supplies and troops, which the Admiral and General so anxiously expected from England.

On the 5th of December, his Majesty's ship Fowey of twenty-four guns, Captain George Montagu, while cruizing off Cape Anne, fell in with, and after a chase of two hours and a half, took the brig Washington, mounting six six-pounders, four four-pounders, and ten swivels, and having a crew of seventy-four men. She was commanded by Sion Martingale, and was equipped at the expence of Congress, and by them commissioned. She was the first vessel taken from the enemy that was actually fitted for war.

In order to disturb the British fishers, and prevent the inhabitants of the island of St. John, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, from sending lumber to any of his Majesty's islands in the West Indies, the enemy sent two armed schooners from Marblehead, which visited some of the northern ports. After having been in Canso road, where they forbade the masters of several vessels which they found there, to carry supplies of any sort to his Majesty's troops at Boston, or to any part of his Majesty's dominions, they proceeded to the island of St. John, where they took a small vessel on board of which was forty tons of butter, made the Lieutenant-Governor of the island a prisoner, and took him away with them; on pretence of his inlisting volunteers for the royal army and the militia of the island. From this they went to Barrington harbour, and there took a small vessel laden with fish; after which, they returned home. By autumn this year the enemy's privateers were amazingly increased in number; and as most of them were exceedingly quick-sailing vessels, they became very daring, and even came in sight of his Majesty's ships in Boston bay, which made the
squadron

squadron very alert in their exertions to capture them. A small fleet of transports, under escort of the Tartar frigate, having hay and provisions on board for the use of the army, from the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia, arrived off Boston on the 23d of November; and all of them got into that port except the ship *Hunter* and a brig, which being a little way astern, and the wind shifting suddenly, were obliged to come to anchor without the harbour. This was observed by two of the enemy's privateers which had followed the convoy; and supposing that no ship of war would be able to come to the assistance of the transports, they attacked, boarded, and carried them, and even set one of them on fire. Captain Parker, of the *Phoenix*, who commanded in Nantasket road, made the signal for the *Raven* sloop to slip and go to the aid of the two transports, which was instantly obeyed. This, however, would have been of no avail, if the whole transaction had not been fortunately observed by Lieutenant John Bourmaster,* agent of transports, who was then on board of the *Empress of Russia*, a large transport well-armed, and stationed off the rock on which the light-house of Boston stood, for the purpose of protecting the artificers employed in repairing it. Upon observing the rebel privateers fire at the two vessels at anchor, he instantly slipped his cable and made for them: and being much nearer them than the *Raven* sloop, he arrived in time to retake both the transports, and to extinguish the flames of the vessel which the enemy had set on fire. The privateers, on the approach of the *Empress of Russia*, made off with a press of sail, and effected their escape. General Howe was so sensible of the important service, which Mr. Bourmaster had rendered to the army by his bravery and activity on this occasion, that he next day wrote him a letter of thanks; and, when Lord Howe came to the command of the fleet on this station, made his Lordship acquainted with the particulars of this action, in consequence of which, he was promoted to the command of a King's ship. On the 29th of November, the *Jupiter*, one of the

* Now Vice-Admiral of the Red.

above mentioned little fleet, commanded by Lieutenant Dickinson, agent of transports, having a cargo of hay on board, was set on fire by lightning : and notwithstanding every effort to save her, was entirely consumed. His Majesty's ship Mercury happened to be near her when this accident happened ; and the boats which she sent to her assistance, proved the means of saving all the people, except a Colonel Day of the province of Nova Scotia, a firm friend to Government, who was unfortunately drowned.

On the 30th of December, Rear-Admiral Shulldham arrived at Boston, in his Majesty's ship the Chatham of fifty guns ; and on the 27th of January following, Vice-Admiral Graves delivered over the command of the Squadron to him,* and sailed for England in the Preston.

For several months after General Washington had assumed the command of the rebel army before Boston, his situation was extremely critical. A great scarcity of military stores, particularly of gunpowder, obliged him to act with much circumspection, until their cruizers brought him an ample supply of these articles, from the prizes which they had made of ordnance, transports, and storeships, destined for the use of the British army. But great as this distress was, he had to encounter one still greater : the time of service for which his men had been enlisted was expired, and an army must be raised to replace them. All this was so completely and secretly accomplished, that although the British Generals, with an army of twenty veteran battalions, and a formidable train of artillery, were within less than a mile of the rebels, they discovered neither their want of gunpowder, nor their disbanding one army and recruiting another, in sufficient time to derive any important advantage from their distress. It is hardly possible to conceive how such occurrences could be concealed ; but the fact affords an astonishing proof, at once of the attachment and fidelity of the enemy's soldiers to the cause in which they were engaged, and of the unanimity of the provinces in opposing the measures of

* See Note 32.

of the British Government. The advantages which were held out by the Congress, to encourage the importation of gunpowder and all sorts of military stores for their army, did not fail to allure the French, and even the Dutch, to supply them with these articles, although the States General had issued a proclamation, forbidding their subjects to carry on such traffic with the disaffected Americans.

The situation of affairs in America rendered an early meeting of the Parliament absolutely necessary. It met accordingly on the 26th day of October, when the King made the following speech to both Houses :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The present situation of America, and my constant desire to have your advice, concurrence, and assistance, on every important occasion, have determined me to call you thus early together.

“ Those who have long too successfully laboured to inflame my people in America by gross misrepresentations, and to infuse into their minds a system of opinions repugnant to the true constitution of the colonies, and to their subordinate relation to Great Britain, now openly avow their revolt, hostility, and rebellion. They have raised troops, and are collecting a naval force ; they have seized the public revenue, and assumed to themselves legislative, executive, and judicial powers, which they already exercise, in the most arbitrary manner, over the persons and properties of their fellow-subjects : and although many of these unhappy people may still retain their loyalty, and may be too wise not to see the fatal consequence of this usurpation, and wish to resist it ; yet the torrent of violence has been strong enough to compel their acquiescence, till a sufficient force shall appear to support them.

“ The authors and promoters of this desperate conspiracy have, in the conduct of it, derived great advantage from the difference of our intentions and theirs. They meant only to

“ amuse by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state,
 “ and the strongest protestations of loyalty to me, whilst they
 “ were preparing for a general revolt. On our part, though it
 “ was declared in your last session that a rebellion existed within
 “ the province of Massachusetts Bay; yet even that province we
 “ wished rather to reclaim than to subdue. The resolutions of
 “ Parliament breathed a spirit of moderation and forbearance;
 “ conciliatory propositions accompanied the measures taken to
 “ enforce authority; and the coercive acts were adapted to
 “ cases of criminal combinations amongst subjects not then in
 “ arms. I have acted with the same temper; anxious to prevent,
 “ if it had been possible, the effusion of the blood of my sub-
 “ jects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state
 “ of war; still hoping that my people in America would have
 “ discerned the traitorous views of their leaders, and have been
 “ convinced, that to be a subject of Great Britain, with all its
 “ consequences, is to be the freest member of any civil society
 “ in the known world.

“ The rebellious war now levied is become more general,
 “ and is manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an
 “ independent empire. I need not dwell upon the fatal effects
 “ of the success of such a plan. The object is too important,
 “ the spirit of the British nation too high, the resources with
 “ which God hath blessed her too numerous, to give up so
 “ many colonies, which she has planted with great industry,
 “ nursed with great tenderness, encouraged with many com-
 “ mercial advantages, and protected and defended at much ex-
 “ pence of blood and treasure.

“ It is now become the part of wisdom, and (in its effects)
 “ of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders by the
 “ most decisive exertions. For this purpose, I have increased
 “ my naval establishment, and greatly augmented my land-
 “ forces; but in such a manner as may be the least burdensome
 “ to my kingdoms.

“ I have also the satisfaction to inform you, that I have re-
 “ ceived the most friendly offers of foreign assistance; and if I
 “ shall

“ shall make any treaties in consequence thereof, they shall be
 “ laid before you. And I have, in testimony of my affection
 “ for my people, who can have no cause in which I am not
 “ equally interested, sent to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port
 “ Mahon a part of my Electoral troops, in order that a larger
 “ number of the established forces of this kingdom may be ap-
 “ plied to the maintenance of its authority; and the national
 “ militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the rights,
 “ safety, and protection of my crown and people, may give a
 “ farther extent and activity to our military operations.

“ When the unhappy and deluded multitude against whom
 “ this force will be directed, shall become sensible of their er-
 “ ror, I shall be ready to receive them with tenderness and
 “ mercy: and in order to prevent the inconveniencies which
 “ may arise from the great distance of their situation, and to re-
 “ move as soon as possible the calamities which they suffer, I
 “ shall give authority to certain persons upon the spot to grant
 “ general or particular pardons and indemnities, in such man-
 “ ner, and to such persons, as they shall think fit, and to re-
 “ ceive the submission of any province or colony which shall be
 “ disposed to return to its allegiance. It may be also proper to
 “ authorise the persons so commissioned to restore such province
 “ or colony, so returning to its allegiance, to the free exercise
 “ of its trade and commerce, and to the same protection and
 “ security as if such province or colony had never revolted.”

“ *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

“ I have ordered the proper estimates for the ensuing year
 “ to be laid before you; and I rely on your affection to me,
 “ and your resolution to maintain the just rights of this country,
 “ for such supplies as the present circumstances of our affairs
 “ require. Among the many unavoidable ill consequences of
 “ this rebellion, none affects me more sensibly than the extra-
 “ ordinary burden which it must create to my faithful subjects.”

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ I have fully opened to you my views and intentions. The

“ constant employment of my thoughts, and the most earnest
“ wishes of my heart, tend wholly to the safety and happiness
“ of all my people, and to the re-establishment of order and
“ tranquillity through the several parts of my dominions, in a
“ close connection and constitutional dependence. You see the
“ tendency of the present disorders, and I have stated to you
“ the measures which I mean to pursue for suppressing them.
“ Whatever remains to be done that may farther contribute to
“ this end, I commit to your wisdom. And I am happy to add,
“ that, as well from the assurances I have received, as from the
“ general appearance of affairs in Europe, I see no probability
“ that the measures which you may adopt will be interrupted
“ by disputes with any foreign power.”

1776.

THE Speech from the Throne disclosed the intentions of Administration, and very warm debates ensued on the addresses; but that of the Commons was carried by one hundred and seventy-six to seventy-two, and that of the Lords by seventy-six to thirty-three. On the 16th of November, Mr. Burke moved for leave to bring in a bill, “ for composing the present troubles, and for quieting the minds of his Majesty’s subjects in America;” but his motion was rejected by a great majority, two hundred and ten being against it, and only one hundred and five for it. The Minister brought in a bill to the House of Commons, to prohibit all trade and intercourse with the North American colonies then in actual rebellion. It occasioned great debates in that House as well as in the House of Lords; but it was carried by strong majorities in both, and received the Royal Assent on the 23d of December. This act concluded with a clause, from which Administration formed great hopes of being able, either to restore peace in America, or to prevail on such numbers to withdraw from the rebellion, as would make it an easy matter to compel those who might still persist in their disloyalty,

loyalty, to submit to the King's authority. The clause was this: "That in order to encourage all well-affected persons, in any of the said colonies, to exert themselves in suppressing the rebellion therein, and to afford a speedy protection to those who are disposed to return to their duty, it shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons, appointed and authorised by his Majesty, to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or description of persons, by proclamation in his Majesty's name to declare any colony or province, or any county, town, port, district, or place, in any colony or province, to be at the peace of his Majesty: and from and after the issuing of any such proclamation, in any of the aforesaid colonies or provinces, or if his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to signify the same by his royal proclamation, then, from and after the issuing of such proclamation, this act with respect to such colony or province, colonies or provinces, county, town, port, district, or place, shall cease, determine, and be utterly void.

"Provided always, that such proclamation, or proclamations, shall not discharge or suspend any proceeding upon any capture of any such ship or vessel, made before the date and issuing thereof."

In order to assemble a very great military force in America next campaign, his Majesty entered into treaties with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, for taking a body of their troops into his pay;* and Lord North, by the King's command, presented these treaties to the Commons on the 8th of February, who, on the 29th of the same month, took them under consideration. It was moved, that the treaties be referred to the Committee of Supply; and Administration carried their point by two hundred and forty-two against eighty-eight. In

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* Troops belonging to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, - -	13,167
Ditto - - - Duke of Brunswick, - - -	4294
Ditto - - - Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, -	796

 18,257

the House of Lords they were equally successful: the treaties being approved by one hundred against thirty-two votes. A body of his Majesty's Electoral troops, part of which were destined to serve in the island of Minorca, and the remainder at Gibraltar, were also taken into British pay. The Parliament voted for the service of the current year, twenty-eight thousand seamen, including six thousand six hundred and sixty-five marines, and fifty-five thousand landmen, by far the greatest part of which were destined to serve in America. The supplies voted for the year 1776 amounted, in the course of the session, to 9,154,230*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*

On the second of May, Lord North delivered the following Message from the King to the House of Commons:

“GEORGE R.

“His Majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and considering that, during the present troubles in North America, emergencies may arise, which may be of the utmost importance, and attended with the most dangerous consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them, is desirous that this House will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences incurred, or which may be incurred, on account of military services for the year 1776, and such as the exigency of affairs may require. And his Majesty having judged it expedient to issue his proclamation, in pursuance of an act of Parliament passed in the fourteenth year of his reign, for calling in the remainder of the deficient gold coin, doubts not but that his faithful Commons will enable him to make good the charges which shall be incurred in this service, which cannot be at this time ascertained. G. R.”

In consequence of the said Message, the House immediately passed a vote of credit for one million.

On the 23d of May, his Majesty put an end to the session of Parliament: and in his speech to both Houses, observed, that no alteration had happened in the state of foreign affairs since their

their meeting ; and that it was with pleasure he could inform them, that the assurances which he had received of the dispositions of the several powers in Europe, promised a continuance of the general tranquillity. He concluded his speech as follows :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ We are engaged in a great cause, the prosecution of which
“ must inevitably be attended with many difficulties and much
“ expence : but when we consider, that the essential rights and
“ interests of the whole empire are deeply concerned in the
“ issue of it, and can have no safety or security but in that
“ constitutional subordination for which we are contending, I
“ am convinced, that you will not think any price too high,
“ for the preservation of such objects.

“ I will still entertain a hope, that my rebellious subjects
“ may be awakened to a sense of their errors, and that, by a
“ voluntary return to their duty, they will justify me in bring-
“ ing about the favourite wish of my heart, the restoration of
“ harmony, and the re-establishment of order and happiness in
“ every part of my dominions. But if a due submission should
“ not be obtained from such motives and such dispositions on
“ their part, I trust that I shall be able, under the blessing of
“ Providence, to effectuate it, by a full exertion of the great
“ force with which you have intrusted me.”

The plan of operations this year in America was upon a very large scale. Major-General Burgoyne, who had returned from that country to London in the beginning of winter, was supposed to have brought the Ministry such authentic information of its state, as would enable them to act with the greatest prospect of success. The first part of the plan was, to send the General back to America, with a very considerable force, under the orders of General Carleton, who was instructed to drive the rebels out of the province of Canada ; and if it was found necessary to pursue them beyond the limits of that province, to detach a corps on this service, under the command of Major-General

General Burgoyne.* The grand army in America was to continue under the command of General Howe, having under him Major-General Earl Percy, and was intended to act against New York and the middle provinces.† The troops which had left Ireland in January, under the command of Major-General Earl Cornwallis, escorted by a squadron under Sir Peter Parker, had orders to proceed to Cape Fear in Virginia, there to meet Major-General Clinton, who was to take the command,‡ and to make such a diversion to the southward, as might greatly assist the operations of the other two Generals; not only by preventing the insurgents from drawing any succours from their southern confederates, but also by obliging them to send detachments to their assistance. His Majesty at the same time, with a view to effect an accommodation with his American subjects, on the 3d of May, appointed Vice-Admiral Richard Lord Viscount Howe, (Commander in Chief of the fleet in America), and his brother the Honourable General William Howe, (Commander in Chief of the army in America), as his Commissioners, with full powers to restore peace to the colonies, in terms of the conciliatory clause in the prohibitory act which had been passed this session of Parliament: and Henry Strachey, Esq; was named Secretary to the Commission.

On the fifth of February, in consequence of his Majesty's pleasure, the following flag-officers of the fleet were promoted, viz. Sir James Douglas, Knight, George Lord Edgecumbe, Samuel Graves, Esq; William Parry, Esq; and the Honourable Augustus Keppel, Vice-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-Admirals of the Red.

John Amherst, Esq; his Royal Highness Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland, Sir Peter Denis, Bart. Matthew Buckle, Esq; Robert Man, Esq; Vice-Admirals of the Blue, and Clark Gayton, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Red, to be Vice-Admirals of the White.

John Montagu, Esq; Sir Robert Harland, Bart. and James Sayer,

* See Note 33.

† See Note 34.

‡ See Note 35.

Sayer, Esq; Rear-Admirals of the Red, and Richard Lord Viscount Howe, Washington Earl Ferrers, Hugh Pigot, Esq; and Molineux Shuldham, Esq; Rear-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue.

John Vaughan, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the White, and John Lloyd, Esq; and Robert Duff, Esq; Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.

John Reynolds, Esq; and Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the White.

Vice-Admiral John Montagu was appointed Governor of Newfoundland : and Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Howe, on the 5th of March, kissed the King's hand on being appointed Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships in North America, in the room of Vice-Admiral Shuldham, whom his Majesty was soon after pleased to create Lord Shuldham of the kingdom of Ireland.

General William Howe was appointed General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in North America, from Nova Scotia on the north to West Florida on the south, with all powers and authorities thereunto belonging, and General Guy Carleton, General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces employed or to be employed at Quebec, and upon the frontiers of the provinces bordering thereupon. Generals Howe and Carleton were, in the course of this year, honoured with the Military Order of the Bath.

On the second of May, a Commission passed the Great Seal, authorising the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and other Courts of Admiralty, to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon, all captures of ships, vessels, and goods, belonging to the inhabitants of the rebellious colonies in North America.

A great number of ships of war were put in commission ; and also, a number of ships hired as transports to carry the troops, artillery, horses, stores, and provisions, to North America. Early in the month of March, Captain Charles Douglas, in his Majesty's ship *Isis*, having on board a company of the twenty-ninth

ninth regiment, sailed for the relief of Quebec : on the 5th of April, General Burgoyne, with the British and Brunswick troops, sailed from Portsmouth for the same place. On the 27th of that month, a thousand men, detached from the three regiments of foot guards and formed into a battalion, together with some regiments of foot, a large train of artillery, and the first division of the Hessian troops, sailed from Spithead for New York, escorted by a squadron commanded by Commodore Hotham. These were soon followed by the second division of Hessian troops, under the orders of General Knyphausen, and the sixteenth regiment of light dragoons, who sailed also from Spithead for New York, escorted by a squadron of frigates, commanded by Captain Fielding.

His Majesty increased the bounty for seamen to enter on board the fleet : and all diligence was used to get the ships put in commission properly fitted and manned. To expedite this service, Vice-Admiral Sir James Douglas was appointed to command at Portsmouth, and Vice-Admiral Amherst at Plymouth. On the fourth of July, the King of Portugal issued an edict, by which he prohibited his subjects from having any intercourse with the Americans : and on the seventh of October, the King of Spain declared his resolution, to remain neuter in the contest between Great Britain and her colonies.

On the seventh of December, a great fire broke out in Portsmouth dock-yard, which was found to have been wilfully kindled by one James Aitken, alias John the Painter ; for which he was tried and condemned, and on the 7th of March hanged on a gallows fifty feet in height, erected at Portsmouth. This miscreant had undertaken this diabolical measure, with a view to aid the cause of the revolted colonies in North America. He had found means, just as the workmen were going to dinner, to secret among some hemp in the rope-house, a machine contrived with great art, containing combustibles, to which he set fire ; which speedily communicating with the hemp, began to blaze about four in the afternoon. By the efforts of the officers and workmen belonging to the yard, the
garrison,

garrison, and the squadron, the fire was prevented from spreading, and was got under the day following; but the rope-house, with its contents, was entirely consumed.

A M E R I C A.

THE rebel Congress again assembled at Philadelphia, and were very intent to get their army recruited as fast as possible. As the term for which most of their troops had enlisted was nearly expired, great rewards were offered to volunteers who would serve for three years; and to such as would serve during the war, one hundred acres of land were to be allotted at the establishment of peace. They made a great number of regulations for their state, for their army, for raising money for the payment of their troops, and for carrying on the war. They also paid much attention to their naval force, and gave great encouragement to the fitting out of privateers and letters of marque. But knowing how much their principal harbours and rivers were exposed to insult, from the superiority of the British navy, they adopted an expedient for the defence of such places, by sinking ranges of frames or machines across their mouths, which made it extremely dangerous for the invader to force an entrance into them. These machines were supposed to be the invention of Dr. Franklin, to whom they did great credit. They were formed of large heavy square pieces of timber. Two long ones, at a proper parallel distance from each other, formed the horizontal base which was to rest on the bed of the river. Right over these were placed two others of similar size, rising from toward the end of the horizontal base, in such an angular direction, that any vessel sailing against them must be pierced by their elevated ends, which were, for that purpose, fortified with strong iron points, but did not appear above the surface of the water. The degree of elevation was such as to give the greatest resistance, with the least danger to the timbers. The four main pieces were joined to each other by many transverse ones; and the whole was so contrived, that its
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own weight and the weight added to it when sunk, should prevent it from being broken, forced backward, or turned over. These machines were called by the Americans *chevaux de frise*: and with them the rivers Delaware, Hudson's or North River, near New York, and the approach to the town of Providence in Rhode Island, were fortified. To render access to them the more difficult and dangerous, the Congress caused a number of galleys to be built, and armed them with heavy cannon. These, placed behind the frames, gave great annoyance to the war ships when they approached them. The Americans reaped much benefit from the invention of the *chevaux de frise*.

On the 23d of March, letters of marque and reprisal were issued by the rebel Congress against Great Britain and its subjects; and their privateers and cruizers were very successful in capturing storeships destined for the fleet and army at Boston. Besides the general measures of hostility against their enemies, or of protection to their own possessions, the Congress also recommended the study and improvement of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce, in the United Colonies. Every device was used by their popular leaders to increase the dislike of the colonists to the mother-country, and gradually to form their minds for uniting in the grand design of erecting themselves into a separate and independent state. So successful were their efforts, that though this object was long held in detestation by all the colonies to the southward of Connecticut, the Provincial Congress of South Carolina determined, in April this year, "Not to treat with Great Britain, but through the "medium of Congress;" and soon after that, resolved to abjure her legislative authority. Similar resolutions were adopted by the Provincial Congresses of North Carolina, Maryland, and New Jersey; and also by the inhabitants of Waterton in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and of the town of Savannah in Georgia. Of these, several recommended independence to the General Congress;* one ordered the prayers for the King and

* The Congresses of North Carolina and New Jersey, and the inhabitants and freeholders of Waterton in Massachusetts Bay.

and the Royal Family to be omitted in the church service ;† and another agreed to burn their town and shipping, rather than let it fall into the hands of the British.‡ Thus, supported by the prevalence of that disloyalty which they had so successfully fostered in the country, the General Congress, on the 15th of May, resolved, “ That considering the United Colonies as excluded, by the capture acts, from the protection of the Crown, they therefore entirely superseded its authority.”

These progressive measures having paved the way, and the minds of the people being prepared for it by various publications, the Congress, on the 4th of July, formally declared the United States of America to be Independent ; abjuring all allegiance to the British Crown, and renouncing all political connection with Great Britain: This solemn declaration was read with great pomp and ceremony in every town, and at the head of their troops wherever they were assembled ; and every where it appeared to be seconded by the wishes and the inclinations of the majority of the people. In the city of New York, the people were so overjoyed and inflamed by its influence, that they proceeded in a body to the place where the equestrian statue of his Majesty stood, which had been erected in the year 1770, and immediately overturned it.

In the course of this summer, the Congress sent Residents to most of the European Courts ; but as yet, they were not openly received in a public character.

At Boston, the British fleet and army had remained in a very disagreeable situation, from the want of stores of almost every kind ; but this was little suspected in Britain, as Administration had been at the greatest pains to send ample supplies of every thing necessary for their comfort and convenience. It is scarcely possible to enumerate the various articles shipped for this purpose ; rum, brandy, wine of all sorts, porter, ale and beer, groceries, live stock, corn, hay, salted provisions of various

† The Provincial Congress of Maryland.

‡ The inhabitants of the town of Savannah in Georgia.

various kinds, coals, &c. The vessels loaded with these were ordered to sail for Boston, under the protection of proper convoy. Whether it was owing to the lateness of their departure from England, or to the westerly winds continuing to blow much longer than usual, is uncertain; but of the ships which carried these immense stores, a few only ever reached their intended destination. - They arrived on the American coast at the worst season of the year for gaining any of its harbours; the weather was uncommonly tempestuous: many of them were compelled to bear away for the West Indies, and others of them were taken by the enemy's privateers, almost within sight of the harbour of Boston. The loss of some ships loaded with coal proved a great source of inconvenience to the garrison, who, for the sake of a scanty supply of fuel, were, in the course of the winter, under a necessity of pulling down a meeting-house, and upwards of a hundred wooden houses.

General Howe sent a detachment of the marine corps, under the command of Major Grant, who, escorted by his Majesty's ship Scarborough of twenty guns, Captain Barclay, and some armed vessels, proceeded to Savannah in Georgia, in order to bring off some ships and vessels which lay there loaded with rice. The militia and inhabitants gave them all the opposition in their power; some blood was spilt, and the rebels contrived to burn seven of the loaded vessels: but Captain Barclay brought off what remained, and conducted them to Boston. This supply, with the cargoes of a few of the ships that had arrived safe from England, afforded a temporary relief to the garrison. They passed the three first months of the winter in tolerable quietness. For this they were indebted, partly to the severity of the weather, which was unfriendly to military operations; partly to the inactivity of the Americans, which was owing to the expiry of the time for which their soldiers were enlisted, and the necessity of supplying their place by new levies; and partly to the state of the rivers, which were not so completely frozen, as to admit of large bodies of troops marching over them with heavy artillery. Early in
January,

January, Major-General Clinton and a few companies of light infantry embarked at Boston, and sailed in transports, under escort of the *Mercury* frigate, for Cape Fear in North Carolina, where he was to take the command of the troops expected from England under Major-General Earl Cornwallis.

The revolted Americans had always very early intelligence of what passed in the British Parliament; and also, of the steps which the Ministry intended to take against them. The King's speech to both Houses, at the opening of this session of Parliament, and the account of the fate of the petition of the Continental Congress, excited in America great rage and indignation, which the leading people were careful to inflame. The speech was publicly burnt in the rebel camp before Boston; and the Congress to shew their displeasure, ordered their national colours to be changed from a plain red ground, which they had hitherto used, to a flag with thirteen stripes, as a symbol of the number and union of the colonies, that had thrown off their allegiance to the British Crown. Upon the arrival of fresh information from England, their inveteracy against the mother-country still increased. The passing of the prohibitory act, and the intelligence that a large army of foreigners were to be taken into British pay, on purpose to serve in America, roused the Congress to adopt vindictive measures. They immediately dispatched instructions to General Washington, whose army was now pretty well formed, to change his mode of conduct, and with all possible diligence to commence offensive operations against the town of Boston, and the British fleet in its harbour. Not doubting their ability to compel General Howe to evacuate the city, they were anxious to have this accomplished as quickly as possible, that their army might be at liberty, early in the summer, to oppose the numerous assaults which they expected from beyond the Atlantic. They were enabled to bring a formidable artillery against this place, by the great supplies of ordnance which they had obtained from the ships that had fallen into their hands, as well as from the ~~store~~ of Ticonderago and Crown Point which they had taken.

On the second of March, they opened a battery of mortars from a place called Phipps's Farm ; and on the third, a battery of heavy cannon from Dorchester heights, which greatly annoyed the garrison. General Howe, determining if possible to remove them, embarked the grenadiers, light-infantry, and six battalions, with the intention of landing them in the rear of the enemy's works, and of attacking their battery of cannon. A strong sortie was to be made from the town at the same time, in order to second these operations : but fortunately the weather proved so very boisterous, that it was impossible for the ships to leave the harbour without the greatest danger. The General therefore proposed the attack on the sixth ; but as the bad weather still continued, he was obliged to relinquish the design. The enemy had by this time greatly increased their works in point of strength ; and General Washington, informed of General Howe's intentions, had collected a very large body of his best troops to oppose him. If the intended enterprise had taken place, it therefore would have been very bloody, and doubtful in its issue. From the great force of the enemy, it was to be dreaded that they would possess and fortify Noddies and Hog islands ; by which means they might render it very insecure for any ship or vessel to ride at anchor in the harbour. The situation of General Howe was as disagreeable as can well be imagined. Placed at the head of a powerful body of regular troops, which he well knew to be deemed in England equal to the service allotted them, he dreaded the censure of his country, if in such circumstances he should abandon the town : on the other hand, the distresses of the inhabitants were great beyond measure ; the hardships of the troops were severely felt ; their fresh provisions were all expended ; their store of salt provisions rapidly diminished ; and he was uncertain when a new supply might arrive, as he had not heard from England since the end of October. The consideration of these circumstances rendered the General's mind so uneasy, that he resolved to abandon the place, and sail for Halifax : this was an arduous task. He had to embark not only his army, and a large train

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of artillery, but also such of the inhabitants as had taken arms, and openly declared for Government. To have left them to the mercy of their irascible and vindictive countrymen, would have been equally ungrateful and impolitic. The embarkation therefore resembled a vast emigration; in which whole families, with their household goods, embraced the opportunity of retiring to a place of safety. That any sort of treaty took place on this occasion, between General Howe and General Washington, has been denied from so high authority, that it may seem audacious to assert the contrary: but it is generally believed, that when the former had come to a resolution to abandon the place, he sent some of the select men to the latter, to inform him of his intentions, and to tell him, that if his attacks were continued, he must set fire to the town to cover his retreat. Two of the select men returned, and having had some conversation with General Howe, went back to Roxbury; soon after which, the firing ceased on both sides. The embarkation took up more than a week, during which time the General's temper was often put to the severest trials: but his fortitude was truly admirable. He found it impossible to remove all the heavy cannon and mortars; but rendered those which he was unable to carry away, as unserviceable as the hurry on such an occasion would admit. What could be easily removed, and all the military stores, were embarked on board the transports; the Admiral affording every assistance in his power. On the 17th of March, the last of the garrison were withdrawn: that the fortifications of Castle William might not prove of any use to the enemy, they were blown up; and the fleet fell down the harbour to Nantasket road. General Washington immediately took possession of Boston, with great military pomp; but being uncertain of General Howe's destination, he, the same day, detached a considerable part of his army to New York, under the command of General Heath.

The fleet and army from Boston arrived at Halifax the third and fourth of April. Rear-Admiral Shulldham left a small squadron in Nantasket road, under the command of Captain

Banks in the *Renown*, to protect the ships which were daily expected to arrive from England, and to escort them to Halifax. General Howe being in expectation of his brother's arrival with the long looked-for reinforcements from England, did not disembark the whole of his army, but kept such regiments as he could not conveniently find quarters for at Halifax and its environs, on board the transports. As soon as the season would permit, and the navigation of the river St. Lawrence was thought practicable, General Howe detached the 47th regiment to the assistance of General Carleton at Quebec.

General Howe remained at Halifax, with his army, until the beginning of June: and as no intelligence of the succours from England had reached him, his patience was quite exhausted. He accordingly embarked his army and train of artillery; and on the 12th of that month put to sea, escorted by Rear-Admiral Shulldham and the greatest part of the squadron under his command. Great hopes were entertained, that they would fall in with the fleet under Lord Howe at sea. Brigadier-General Massey was appointed commander of the troops left at Halifax, and Sir George Collier of the ships of war there.

The naval transactions on the coast of North America, prior to this time, were as follows. The Earl of Dunmore, his Majesty's Governor of Virginia, continued to the utmost of his power to harrafs the revolted Americans in that province. The rebel Committee at Norfolk having refused to allow any fresh provisions to be sent on board his Majesty's ships on that station, and having fired from the shore upon their boats, it was resolved to avenge this hostile conduct. Previous notice of the intended attack was sent ashore, that the women and children might be removed from the danger which threatened the place: and on the 1st of January, his Majesty's ship *Liverpool* of twenty-eight guns, Captain Bellew, with the *Otter* and *King's Fisher* sloops, and Dunmore armed ship, began to cannonade it. A party landed from these vessels, set fire to the houses next the water; but owing to the situation of the place, and the direction of the wind, the damage extended only to a part of the town. It
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would appear, however, that the disaffected themselves, on seeing the lower part of the town in flames, set fire also to that part which Lord Dunmore meant to have spared. Nor did their fury stop with this outrage. They likewise burnt several houses in the country, and a great distillery about three miles from Norfolk, in which was a large stock of rum and molasses; and industriously spread a report, that this was done by the King's soldiers and sailors, doubtless with a view to increase the general odium against them. After these exertions, his Lordship finding that he could no longer be of service to his Majesty in Virginia, joined General Howe at New York.

Lieutenant Dawson, commanding the *Hope* brig, discovered, on the 29th of January, about ten in the morning, a schooner privateer belonging to the enemy, at anchor off Plymouth. Upon his standing towards her, she immediately got under way, and endeavoured, but in vain, to enter several of the harbours on that part of the coast. The *Hope*, having frustrated all these attempts, at last forced her ashore about two o'clock. Lieutenant Dawson then brought the brig under his command to anchor as near her as the depth of water would allow, and kept up a smart fire on her until seven in the evening, when she floated, made a push to get into North River, and sunk in the attempt. At day-light next morning, Lieutenant Dawson endeavoured to burn the part of her which remained above water: but the country people having by this time assembled in great multitudes, kept up a constant fire on the *Hope* and her boats, from small arms and a battery of cannon which they had erected in the night. It was, therefore, judged proper to desist, especially as the privateer had received so much damage as would effectually prevent her from cruising.

The Congress having received information of the defenceless situation of the island of Providence, the seat of government of the Bahama islands, dispatched their squadron, under the command of Mr. Hopkins, in hopes of seizing upon his Majesty's magazine there: but Governor Brown having got intimation of their design, in a great measure disappointed it, by having al-

most all the gunpowder conveyed away in two sloops, the day before they appeared off the town of Naffau, (March 3d). The place being in no condition to withstand either an attack or a siege, surrendered on the first summons. Here the enemy found plenty of cannon and mortars; but to their great mortification, only fifteen barrels of gunpowder, which they carried off. They also made Governor Brown their prisoner, and were on their voyage to New London, when their fleet, about two in the morning on the 6th of April, (off Block island) fell in with his Majesty's ship Glasgow of twenty guns, Captain Tyringham Howe. About half an hour past two, a large brig of Mr. Hopkins' Squadron came so near as to be hailed by the Glasgow, but seemed to hesitate what answer to give; upon which Captain Howe repeated the question, "What are ye?" "And what are the other ships in company?" They then answered, "the Columbus, and Alfred frigate of twenty-two guns;" and immediately a hand-grenade was thrown out of the brig's top at the Glasgow, which was returned by a broadside; and an action commenced. The brig then shot ahead, to make room for a large ship with a top-light to come alongside the Glasgow. At the same time, another of their ships ran under her stern, raked her as she passed, and then luffed up under her lee-beam, while a brig took her station on her larboard-quarter, and a sloop kept altering her position continually. At four o'clock the situation of all the enemy's vessels was changed; their two ships had dropped on each quarter, and a brig lay astern keeping up a continual fire. The Glasgow then bore away and made for Rhode Island, when all the rebel fleet were within musquet-shot, on her quarters or stern. Captain Howe ordered two stern-chace guns to be run out at the cabin windows, from which he kept up a warm fire on the enemy, who, at day-break, on the 17th, were found to consist of two ships, two brigs, and a sloop, all fitted for war, and a large ship and a snow, which had kept to windward from the commencement of the action. At half past six the enemy hauled their wind and steered to the S. S. W. In this action,

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the Glasgow had one man killed, and three wounded, by the enemy's small arms.

Rear-Admiral Shulldham, in the beginning of May, had ordered the Roebuck of forty-four guns, Captain Hammond, and the Liverpool of twenty-eight guns, Captain Bellew, to station themselves in the Delaware; and they had accordingly got up that river, as high as Christiana creek, about six miles above Newcastle. On the 9th of that month, the enemy sent down from their stations at Fort or Mud Island, a number of galleys and gun-boats, which about three in the afternoon attacked the King's ships. After a warm cannonade on both sides, which had lasted upwards of three hours, the Roebuck grounded, and the Liverpool came to an anchor to cover her. The battle ceased with the day-light, and during the night the Roebuck got afloat. On the 10th, as soon as the tide began to ebb, which was about five in the afternoon, the enemy's galleys and gun-boats dropped down the river, and recommenced the attack. The King's ships finding it impossible to work up against both wind and tide, so as to get near enough to the vessels of the rebels for their cannon to have a proper effect, fell down towards the mouth of the river. In this conflict, both ships received considerable damage in their masts, hulls, and rigging, and had several men wounded.

The Rose of twenty guns, Captain Wallace, fell in with two of the enemy's privateers off Rhode Island, one of twenty, the other of sixteen guns, and engaged them both very closely for a considerable time; when the latter sunk, and the former sheered off. The boats from the Rose saved most of the privateer's crew, many of whom entered into his Majesty's service.

The Pearl frigate, Captain Wilkinson, took, after an hour's engagement, a ship of sixteen guns and ninety men, belonging to New York, having on board live cattle and military stores. Most of her crew enlisted with the fleet. The Vulture, a privateer belonging to the enemy, mounting fourteen guns, was, after exchanging a few shots, taken by one of his Majesty's frigates. The Milford frigate took, after a short action, the

Yankee Hero, a privateer of eighteen carriage and ten swivels guns. The privateer had four men killed, her Captain and twelve men wounded.

On the death of General Montgomery, the command of the enemy's forces before Quebec devolved on Mr. Arnold, whom the Congress had raised to the rank of a Brigadier-General. It was observed, that after they had failed in their attempt to carry the city by assault, they had withdrawn their forces to about three miles distance; that they had cantoned their men in the neighbouring villages, and were active only in preventing succours from entering the place. General Carleton having permitted the baggage belonging to the enemy's officers and foldiers, who were made prisoners on the 31st of December, to be brought to them, General Arnold availed himself of that opportunity to attempt to enter into a correspondence with the Governor; who uniformly replied, that no intercourse could be admitted, unless they came to implore the King's mercy. M. Beaujeu, (a loyal Canadian) endeavoured to the utmost of his power to relieve the town, and had collected for that purpose a body of his countrymen, who by no means seconded his good intentions; for his advanced guard falling in with some of General Arnold's detachments on the 28th of March, was seized with a panic and dispersed. On the 31st of the same month a discovery was made, that the rebel prisoners had formed a plot to escape, by seizing the guard at St. John's gate, and admitting Mr. Arnold: but their design was fortunately discovered, and effectually prevented. In the beginning of April, the enemy's army began to leave their cantonments to draw nearer to the town, and to renew their active operations against it. On the 4th of that month, they opened upon it a battery of four guns and one howitzer, from the opposite side of the river St. Charles. Their intention was, by firing red-hot balls from this battery, to burn the shipping as well as the town. On the 23d, they commenced a bombardment from the heights opposite to Port St. Louis, but with very little effect, as their batteries suffered much from the

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the artillery of the garrison. On the 3d of May, about ten at night, they attempted to run a fire-ship into the Cul de Sac or harbour, where the ships of war, and almost all the other shipping, were laid up: but they failed in the attempt, and the vessel burnt to the water's edge without doing any injury. If by this means they had succeeded in burning the ships, the lower town must have shared the same fate; and their intended plan was, to have availed themselves of the unavoidable confusion attending such an occurrence, by again attempting to carry the place by escalade.

The 6th of May put an end to the sufferings of the garrison and to the hopes of the rebels, by the arrival of the Surprise frigate, Isis, and Martin sloop, in the basin of Quebec. The Isis had sailed from Spithead on the 11th of March, with succours on board for the relief of the place, and the grenadier company of the 29th regiment. She made the island of St. Peter on the 11th of April: but had the greatest difficulty to prosecute her voyage. Captain Douglas, who was animated with all the zeal which so critical a service required, exerted every means in his power to carry the ship forward; and, by a press of sail, forced her through large fields of ice to the extent of fifty or sixty leagues, till on the 21st he got clear of this impediment, made the island of Anticosti, and on the same evening entered the river St. Lawrence.

On the 30th of April, the Isis came to an anchor, in a snow storm, near the Pilgrim islands; and from thence, as the weather cleared up, signals were observed to be made by successive smoaks from Cape to Cape towards Quebec. After various obstacles from calms, fogs, and contrary winds, the Isis arrived, on the 3d of May, at Isle aux Coudres; where she was joined by his Majesty's ship Surprise and Martin sloop, which had sailed the 20th of March from Plymouth, having likewise succours on board for Quebec. Here Captain Douglas secured all the French pilots he could; and as every minute was precious, he gave orders to Captain Linzee, of the Surprise, to make the best of his way to Quebec, and to inform Governor

Governor Carleton that he was hastening to his relief. Captain Linzee was so fortunate as to arrive in view of the town at six the next morning; and after answering the private signal from the garrison, he came to an anchor in the basin of Quebec, between the enemy's battery on Point Levi and the lower town: soon after which, the Isis and Martin joined the Surprise. The several detachments of troops and marines which they had on board, in all about two hundred men, were immediately landed, under the command of Captain Lord Peterham, (now Earl of Harrington). General Carleton rightly judging, that the impression made on the rebels by the arrival of his Majesty's ships would operate very powerfully in favour of the besieged, instantly determined upon a sortie. He accordingly sallied forth at the head of nearly eight hundred men, and very soon came in sight of their camp, and found them busily employed in making preparations for a retreat. A few shot only were exchanged: for on General Carleton's pressing forward, they fled with the greatest precipitation, abandoning all their artillery, military stores, scaling ladders, and petards. Captain Douglas being informed of the enemy's retreat, immediately ordered the Surprise and Martin to proceed up the river as far as the rapids of Richelieu, to annoy them in their flight as much as possible. This order was attended with the best effect, as it prevented the parties of the insurgents on the opposite sides of the river, from joining in their retreat towards Montreal. They also recovered his Majesty's armed schooner Gaspé, which during the last winter had fallen into the rebels hands, and had been sunk by them, but was soon weighed, and found not to be materially damaged. On this occasion the Mary, an armed schooner of the enemy's, carrying four six-pounders and six three-pounders, was taken, but her crew escaped into the woods. The conduct of General Carleton, every part of which was transcendently meritorious, especially his gallant defence of Quebec, raised him so high in the favour of his Sovereign, and in the esteem of his countrymen, that they beheld with satisfaction the subsequent honours,

honours, with which the King so justly rewarded his merit.

To do justice to the merit and services of Colonel Maclean, Captain Hamilton of his Majesty's ship Lizard, and the other officers and men who composed the garrison, I shall transcribe the commendations bestowed upon them by their gallant commander: "This," says this excellent officer, "ended our siege and blockade; during which, the mixed garrison of soldiers, sailors, British and Canadian militia, with the artificers from Halifax and Newfoundland, shewed great zeal and patience, under very severe duty and uncommon vigilance, indispensable in a place liable to be stormed, besides great labour necessary to render such attempts less practicable.

"I cannot conclude this letter, without doing justice to Lieutenant-Colonel Maclean, who has been indefatigably zealous in the King's service, and to his regiment, wherein he has collected a number of experienced good officers, who have been very useful. Colonel Hamilton, (Captain of his Majesty's ship Lizard) who commanded the battalion of seamen, his officers and men, discharged their duty with great alacrity and spirit. The same thing must be acknowledged of the masters, inferior officers, and seamen, belonging to his Majesty's transports, and merchantmen detained here last fall: only one seaman deserted the whole time. The militia, British and Canadian, behaved with a steadiness and resolution, that could hardly have been expected from men unused to arms. Judges, and other officers of Government, as well as merchants, cheerfully submitted to every inconvenience to preserve the town; the whole indeed, upon the occasion, shewed a spirit and perseverance that do them great honour.

"Major Caldwell, who commanded the British militia all winter as Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, and is bearer of these dispatches to your Lordship, has proved himself a faithful subject to his Majesty, and an active and diligent officer. He, and indeed almost every loyal subject, are very

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“considerable sufferers by the present hostile invasion.”*

Such was the warm language of the Governor of Quebec : and such his opinion of the behaviour of his garrison.

The preservation of the capital of Canada was a most important object. As its weakness, from the extent of its fortifications, was well known to General Howe, he was uneasy at not having received intimation of its danger, sufficiently early in the season to have enabled him to send troops to its relief before the winter should set in. The moment, therefore, that the navigation of the gulph and river of St. Lawrence became practicable, he detached the 47th regiment on this service, which reached the city of Quebec on the 8th of May, under the escort of the *Niger* frigate, Captain Talbot : and on the 10th, the *Triton* frigate, Captain Lutwidge, arrived from England, having some transports, with the remainder of the 29th regiment on board, and some victuallers, under convoy.

A long and severe winter's campaign did not in the least abate the vigour of General Carleton ; for as soon as the 29th and 47th regiments had refreshed themselves on shore after the voyage, he embarked on board transports, and on the 20th of May proceeded up the river St. Lawrence, in order to harraßs the rebels as much as possible ; leaving orders for the troops, daily expected to arrive from England, to follow him.

The General, in all his operations, was well seconded by Captain (afterwards Sir Charles) Douglas of his Majesty's ship *Isis*, the senior naval officer on this station ; who, that no time might be lost in driving the enemy out of the province, immediately after the raising of the siege of Quebec, sent down the river all the pilots that could be procured, to conduct the transports which were daily expected with General Burgoyne from England. He also provided pilots for the upper river, placed frigates and armed vessels in proper stations to assist and escort them : and, least the transports should be prevented, by
contrary

* Extracts from Major-General Carleton's letter to Lord George Germaine, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, dated Quebec, May 14th, 1776.

contrary winds, from failing up the St. Lawrence, and the troops thereby obliged to disembark and proceed by land, he was careful to have other vessels commodiously stationed with provisions for them on their march. Their passage from England had been tedious,^a and it was not until the 28th of May that they reached Quebec. They remained at anchor there only one night, and proceeded directly up the river to join General Carleton, who had ordered the troops to assemble at the town of Trois Rivières, about midway between Quebec and Montreal. When they arrived at that place, part of the army was disembarked and cantoned there, and in the adjacent villages on the road to Montreal, and the rest remained on board the transports.

On the 8th of June, when the transports were at anchor, about three miles above Trois Rivières, under the protection of his Majesty's sloop Martin, the rebels attempted a very bold enterprize. They embarked, under the command of Major-General Thompson, upwards of two thousand of their best men in fifty large boats at Sorell, and crossing the river St. Lawrence, landed at the Point du Lai before day-light, and immediately marched to attack the British troops at Trois Rivières, in hopes of surprising them. The better to conceal their design, they rowed past the Martin sloop of war and transports in the river, only taking care to keep out of reach of their cannon. Brigadier-General Fraser, who commanded at Trois Rivières, was too alert to be thus entrapped; for they had scarcely begun their attack on the out-post of the 62d regiment, when he put himself at the head of a body of troops, and marched with the utmost expedition towards them, leaving orders for the remainder to follow him. Lieutenant-Colonel Anstruther, the moment he heard the firing, hastened at the head of the 62d regiment to the support of the post, immediately attacked the enemy, was presently seconded by the troops under Brigadier-General Fraser, and they were soon after reinforced by more troops, who brought along with them some field-pieces, which did most excellent service. Brigadier-General Nesbit, who com-
manded

manded the troops on board of the ships in the river, received the first intelligence of what was going on by the firing he heard from the shore; on which, he instantly made the signal for the troops in the transports to disembark, and with the greatest dispatch pushed ashore, (in the rear of the enemy's detachment) at the head of as many men as he could find boats to contain them. The rebels, who were by this time retreating before Brigadier-General Frazer, when they perceived the troops leaping ashore from their boats, and their retreat in danger of being cut off, fled with the greatest precipitation through the woods towards Montreal. The two Brigadiers pursued them, keeping close by the river side, in hopes of getting between them and their boats, and by these means cutting off their retreat. Brigadier Nesbit proceeded as far as Machiche, and Brigadier Frazer to the Point du Lai, and thereby succeeded in intercepting a very considerable body of the insurgents. The rest, headed by a Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, (who had been an officer in his Majesty's service, and who was the first that fled from the action) made such speed, that they regained the boats, and pushed off from the shore, before the troops under General Frazer could come up. In consequence of this, Major-General Thompson, their commander, with a Colonel Irwin, the second in command, several other commissioned officers, and about two hundred private men, were made prisoners. While the King's troops pursued the enemy along the shore, the Martin floop, and transports, sailed up the St. Lawrence as high as the river du Loup, by which means they intercepted two of the enemy's boats full of men; but the other boats had got too far off, and made their escape. In this skirmish, the rebels had a great many men killed. For the preservation of their wounded, which were reported to be numerous, General Carleton, with his usual humanity, published a proclamation inviting them to come in from the woods and surrender; to such as would do so, he proffered clemency and protection.* The loss sustained by the King's troops did not exceed twelve

or

* See Note 36.

or thirteen in killed and wounded. On the 9th, the regiments were all at their former stations. Those whose transports had got up the river were embarked : and Brigadier-General Frazer was ordered to march along shore, at the head of the troops whose transports had not been able to get so far up the St. Lawrence. The wind becoming fair, the fleet sailed, and arrived the evening of the 14th off Sorell, from which place the rear of the rebel forces had only marched a few hours before. The grenadiers and light-infantry of the regiments, on board of the transports, landed immediately, and were supported by the troops under Brigadier Nesbit. Next morning more troops were disembarked, and the command of them given to General Burgoyne, who had orders to pursue the enemy up the river Sorell to St. John's, but without hazarding any thing, until the column on his right should be able to co-operate with him.

As soon as regulations could be made out, to direct the different transports in the progress of this difficult navigation, the remainder of the fleet sailed for Longueil, four leagues from Chamblé : and had the wind continued fair, this column of the army would, in all probability, have arrived that night at the place of its destination, about the time when the rear of the rebel army was retiring from Montreal, under the command of Brigadier-General Arnold. The next day the troops were disembarked, and marched by La Prairie to St. John's. The advanced guard of this column was conducted by Major-General Phillips. He arrived on the morning of the 19th near St. John's ; when he learned, that the column headed by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne had taken possession of the redoubts the night before. Here they found all the buildings in flames ; the craft and large boats which the insurgents could not drag up the rapids of Chamblé, together with some provisions, being also burnt. Brigadier-General Frazer, with the corps under his command, reinforced by a large body of Canadians, soon after joined the army, and encamped at St. John.

By far the most fatiguing and difficult part of the campaign
at

at this time commenced ; the object of which was, to obtain a naval superiority over the rebels on the Lake Champlain, which was now to become the scene of contest. With this view, the frames of several vessels had been prepared in England, and embarked in the ships which were sent this season to Canada. A considerable detachment of seamen, from his Majesty's ships and transports in the river St. Lawrence, now joined the army.* By their united labours, in twenty-eight days, a ship called the *Inflexible* was reconstructed at St. John's. She mounted eighteen twelve pounders, and was the largest vessel that had appeared on Lake Champlain. In the short space of six weeks, there were built, or reconstructed, a fleet of upwards of thirty fighting vessels of different kinds and sizes, all of them carrying cannon. In addition to these, thirty long boats, a gondola weighing thirty tons, all the flat-bottomed boats, and about four hundred batteaux, were to be transported over land, and dragged up the rapids of St. Theresa and St. John's ; all of which was accomplished with astonishing vigour and perseverance.

To give an adequate idea of these difficulties, and of the merit of the exertions which surmounted them, the following extract is taken from Captain Douglas's letter on this occasion to the Secretary of the Admiralty. " His Excellency the Commander in Chief of the army, and the other Generals, are of opinion, that the sailors of his Majesty's ships and transports have, (far beyond the usual limits of their duty) exerted themselves to the utmost on this great and toilsome occasion ; nor has a man of that profession uttered a single word expressive of discontent, amidst all the hardships they have undergone, so truly patriotic are the motives by which they are actuated. To crown the whole, above two hundred prime seamen of the transports, impelled by a due sense of their country's wrongs, did most generously engage themselves to serve in our armed vessels during the expedition, " and

* See Note 37.

“ and embarked accordingly. Such have been our unremitting “ toils,” &c.

The utmost diligence having been used in the equipment of this fleet, and the command of it given to Captain Thomas Pringle of the Lord Howe armed ship,* it proceeded from its station near the Isle aux Noix, and entered Lake Champlain. The Commodore was on board of the Maria, accompanied by General Carleton; who left the command of the army, then encamped at and near St. John's, to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, with orders to be ready to embark in the batteaux, as soon as he should deem such a step proper. Every thing being in readiness, the fleet sailed in quest of that of the enemy, which was commanded by General Arnold, and on the 11th of October came up with them, lying at anchor under the island of Valcour, and formed in a strong line, extending from the island to the west side of the continent.† The wind was so unfavourable, that for a considerable time, the gun-boats only could be brought into action. The Carleton schooner, commanded by Lieutenant Dacres, by much perseverance at last got to their assistance, and for several hours gave and sustained a very warm fire; but the impracticability of bringing any more of the fleet into action, induced Captain Pringle, with General Carleton's approbation, to order off the gun-boats and schooner; the superiority of the enemy's force opposed to them only, being so very great, that no advantage could possibly be gained by continuing the cannonade. Captain Pringle brought the whole of his fleet to anchor, in a line as near to that of the rebels as he possibly could, in order to cut off their retreat; but the extreme darkness of the ensuing night, enabled them to slip past him unperceived: and at day-break on the 12th, they had got a considerable way up the Lake. Captain Pringle immediately made the signal for the fleet under his command to weigh anchor, and pursue them. On the 13th in the morning, the rebel fleet, consisting of eleven sail, were again discovered, making for Crown Point. After a chase of seven hours, the

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Maria,

* See Note 38.

† See Note 39.

Maria, leaving the Carleton and Inflexible a small distance astern, came up with them about twelve o'clock; and though the remainder of the fleet was scarcely in sight, immediately attacked them with the greatest vigour. The action lasted two hours; when five gondolas and the Congress galley, in which was General Arnold, ran ashore. The Washington galley, with Brigadier-General Waterton, their second in command, had a little before struck her colours. The insurgents' vessels which had run ashore were immediately abandoned, and blown up by the rebels; in doing which, they were greatly favoured by the wind blowing off shore, and by the narrowness of the Lake. The remainder of their fleet escaped to Crown Point, and from that got to Ticonderago. In the action of the 11th, the Royal Savage schooner, of twelve guns, which was the largest vessel the rebels had on the Lake, received so much damage, that they were obliged to burn her, and one of their gondolas was sunk. On the 12th, another of them was taken. In both actions, their loss of men was very considerable: but the number of killed and wounded in his Majesty's fleet did not exceed forty. Both the General and Commodore were very highly pleased with the behaviour of the officers and men upon this service; and Lieutenant Dacres, who so much distinguished himself on the 11th, was made the bearer of both their dispatches to Government. He was most graciously received by the King, who ordered him a handsome present, and directed that he should be promoted to the rank of Master and Commander.

Immediately after this victory, General Carleton sent orders to General Burgoyne to embark the troops, and follow him up the Lake to Crown Point; but the insurgents, as soon as they received information of the disaster that had befallen their fleet, had abandoned the place, after setting fire to their works and houses there, and retreated with all their forces to Ticonderago. Considering this place as of vast importance to their future operations, they had bestowed much pains in fortifying it; erected a wooden bridge across the very narrow part of the Lake, from the fort to a strong redoubt, defended by cannon

on Mount Independence ; and for the protection of the bridge laid, at a little distance from it, a chain and boom. Here did they bring the remnant of their shattered fleet ; and here did they exert their utmost efforts to restore their naval strength, in hopes of once more obtaining a superiority over the British on the Lake, and thereby preventing the approach of his Majesty's forces in the next campaign.

General Carleton, finding that the season of the year was too far advanced to undertake any new operation, contented himself with what he had done, and recrossed the Lake with the fleet and army to Canada, in order to prepare all matters for an early prosecution of hostilities in the following year.*

A very gallant exploit, in this part of America, was rendered still more conspicuous by the extraordinary conduct of Congress. Captain George Forster of the 8th regiment of foot, of which he had a detachment consisting of about fifty men under his command, had collected a number of loyal Canadians and Indians, and proceeded down the river St. Lawrence : with these he unexpectedly appeared, on the 19th of May, before a small fort at a place called the Cedars, forty-five miles above Montreal. In this place the rebels had a garrison of three hundred and ninety men, and two pieces of cannon, under the command of a Major Butterfield. These he obliged to surrender at discretion. Captain Forster, at the hazard of his own life, saved from the fury of the Indians the lives of the prisoners. Provisions being scarce, and having many additional people to maintain, he was obliged to put the whole on short allowance. This very much enraged the Indians, who insisted on putting the prisoners to death ; but happily the Captain, by his entreaties, was able to prevent them from perpetrating so barbarous a deed. The day after the fort had surrendered, intelligence was brought that a large party of the enemy, under a Major Sherburn, were coming to its relief ; on which the Canadians, under Messrs. Lorimer and Montigny, and the Indians, sallied forth, attacked, and after some firing, defeated them. About twenty of the rebels were killed and wounded :

and the rest were obliged to surrender. Before the prisoners came into the fort, the Indians had taken a great deal of their wearing apparel from them : but as soon as they were delivered over to Captain Forster, he protected them from all farther violence. General Arnold, after he was forced to return to Montreal from Quebec, set out with a detachment of eight hundred men for the Cedars, in order to rescue the rebel troops who were prisoners there ; but he met with so many difficulties in his march, that before he had got half way he was glad to return. He afterwards entered into a cartel for the exchange of prisoners with Captain Forster, on the good faith of which their people were sent to him ; but this agreement Congress refused to ratify, on the frivolous and unjust pretext, that their soldiers had been stripped almost naked and ill-used by the Indians, after the fort had surrendered. For this dishonourable conduct, they met with just and general censure.

His Majesty was highly pleased with the conduct both of his sea and land officers in this part of North America. General Carleton (now Lord Dorchester) was honoured with the Order of the Bath ; Captain John Hamilton of the *Lizard*, and Captain Charles Douglas of the *Isis*, were created Baronets of Great Britain ; Captains Mackenzie and Pringle were made Post-Captains : and the crews of his Majesty's ship *Isis* and the other ships, who had exerted themselves to carry them forward through the opposing fields of ice to the relief of the city of Quebec, were allowed double pay from the time they left England to the raising of the siege of that city.

Whilst these transactions were passing in Canada, and the more northern parts of America, other operations were going forward in the southern provinces, which have an equal claim to attention. It has been observed, that in January, General Howe had detached Major-General Clinton, with a few companies of grenadiers and light-infantry, from Boston. The General embarked in the *Mercury* frigate, commanded by Captain Græme, and the troops in transports. They sailed from Boston, and came to anchor at Sandy Hook ; where General

General Clinton had an interview with Governor Tryon of New York, and other friends of the King, who had been obliged to take shelter in vessels, and to seek the protection of his Majesty's ships stationed there. After learning the situation of New York and the adjoining provinces, the General once more proceeded to sea and steered for Hampton in Virginia, where he met with the Earl of Dunmore, with whom he held several conferences. He then sailed for Cape Fear in North Carolina; where, about the middle of April, he was joined by Major-General Earl Cornwallis, with the troops under his command from England, which had been escorted by a squadron under the command of Commodore Sir Peter Parker.* Here General Clinton took the command of the land-forces. During his stay at this place, he disembarked the troops several times, and after allowing them to remain some days ashore, re-embarked them. This was done both to relieve the men from close confinement at sea, and to obtain fresh provisions, of which they got a plentiful supply in their different excursions into the country. The commanders of this armament were instructed, if they saw that it could be done with any probability of success, to make an attack on some of the revolted provinces to the southward, in hopes of favouring the operations of the Commander in Chief, by obliging the rebels to detach a great part of their forces to oppose them. With this view, as Charlestown, the capital of the province of South Carolina, was considered as of very great importance to the insurgents, and as they had received no orders from Admiral Shulldham or General Howe, either to form a junction with the forces under their immediate command, or to direct their attention to some other object, they resolved to attack that place.

The armament accordingly sailed from Cape Fear the 1st of June, and anchored off Charlestown bar on the 4th. The two following days were employed in sounding, and laying down buoys preparatory to the forcing their way into the harbour. On the 7th, all the frigates, and most of the transports, got

over the bar into Five fathom hole. On the 9th, General Clinton, with about five hundred men, landed on Long Island; and on the 10th, the Bristol of fifty guns, with some difficulty got over the bar, and joined the frigates.

By the 15th, all the troops were disembarked and encamped; and measures were concerted for making a conjunct attack. The rebels, who appeared in great numbers, were daily augmenting their works, on which they mounted a great many cannon; and the Congress, suspecting that Charlestown might be the object of General Clinton's expedition, sent Major-General Lee in great haste to take command of their troops in that district.

It had been represented to General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, that the fortress which was erected on Sullivan's island, and which in a great measure defended the entrance of the harbour of Charlestown, was in an imperfect and unfinished state; and it was therefore resolved, that their operations should commence with an attack upon it, the squadron battering it from the sea, while the army at the same time should endeavour to get behind it on the land-side, and endeavour to carry it by storm. For this purpose it was intended, that the troops should ford the passage which separates Sullivan's from Long Island, the depth of which had been sounded, and according to report did not exceed eighteen inches at low water. But when this service came to be attempted, it was found either that the report of the shallowness of the ford was erroneous, or that the attack was made at an improper time of the tide; for when the troops were ready to march to second the operations of the squadron, the passage was covered by seven feet of water, and altogether impracticable.* The 23d was first fixed upon for the attack; but the wind proving unfavourable prevented it. On the 25th, the Experiment of fifty guns, Captain Scott, arrived,

* A writer who, about this time, under the signature of Candid, inserted in the public papers an account of Charlestown harbour, said, that the depth of water between Long Island and Sullivan's Island, is very much influenced by the direction in which the wind happens to blow.

rived, and was got over the bar; and in consequence of this accession of strength, the Commodore altered the arrangement of his squadron.†

The weather proving favourable on the 28th, Sir Peter Parker, at half an hour after nine in the morning, acquainted General Clinton by signal, that he was to proceed to the attack: and at half an hour after ten, he made the signal for the squadron to weigh anchor. At a quarter before eleven, the Bristol, Experiment, Active, and Solebay, brought up against Fort Sullivan, the Thunder bomb, covered by the Friendship armed vessel, and brought the salient-angle of the north-east bastion of the fort to bear N. W. by N. The Sphynx, Acteon, and Syren, were ordered to be placed to the westward, to prevent fire-ships and other vessels from annoying the ships engaged abreast of the fort, to enfilade the works of the insurgents as much as possible, and to cut off their retreat, if they should abandon them: unfortunately these frigates were not brought to their proper stations; owing to the ignorance of the pilot, the ships ran foul of each other, and by this means got on shore on a sand called the Middle-ground. The Sphynx disengaged herself by cutting away her bowsprit; and as it was not yet flood tide, she and the Syren were warped off. All endeavours to get the Acteon afloat proving ineffectual, her Captain and officers the next morning judged it expedient to set the ship on fire, to prevent her from falling into the hands of the rebels.

The attack began by the Thunder bomb throwing some shells at the fort, as the squadron were advancing against it, but she was unluckily placed at too great a distance to be of any service. This was soon perceived by Colonel James of the artillery, who remained on board of her during the whole time of the action; and he endeavoured to remedy this defect, by ordering an additional quantity of powder to each mortar. By these means a few shells reached the fort; but the recoil of the mortars was

so much increased, that their beds broke down, and the vessel became useless for the rest of the day.

The insurgents on this occasion behaved remarkably well, reserving their fire until the ships were within point-blank shot, when they began a steady and unremitting cannonade, with an aim too fatal in its effects. The fire from the squadron was well kept up, and oftener than once that of the rebels appeared to slacken, as if their works had been abandoned. But as the King's troops were prevented from advancing by the impracticability of the ford, the enemy reinforced the garrison, and the fire from the fort was renewed with fresh vigour. Never was greater bravery shown than the squadron displayed on this occasion. In the beginning of the action, not a man on the Bristol's quarter-deck escaped being killed or wounded. Lord William Campbell, his Majesty's Governor of South Carolina, went a volunteer with the Commodore in the Bristol to the attack, superintended the direction of some guns on the lower deck, and, together with Sir Peter Parker, Captain Morris, Lieutenants Caulfield, Molloy, and Nugent, and the rest of the officers and men, displayed great courage in the action. The ships, after lying nine hours and forty minutes before Fort Sullivan, were ordered off by the Commodore, all of them much shattered. The Bristol had her main-top-mast and mizen-mast shot away, forty men killed, and seventy-one wounded: Captain Morris had his right arm shot off, and was otherwise so much wounded, that he died a few days afterwards. The Experiment had twenty-three men killed, and fifty-six wounded; among the latter was her commander, Captain Scott, who had his right arm shot off, and with great difficulty recovered. In the Active, Lieutenant Pike was killed, and six men wounded: the Solebay had eight men wounded. The Commodore, on this occasion, received a strong testimony of the spirit and loyalty of the masters and seamen of his Majesty's transports, which deserves to be remembered, and to their honour it is thus mentioned, in Sir Peter Parker's public letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty. "I cannot conclude this
" letter

“letter without remarking, that when it was known that we
“had many men too weak to come to quarters, almost all the
“seamen belonging to the transports offered their service with
“a truly British spirit, and a just sense of the cause we were
“engaged in. I accepted of upwards of fifty to supply the
“place of our sick. The masters of many of the transports
“attended with their boats; but particular thanks are due to
“Mr. Chambers, the Master of the Mercury.”

Captain Hope, of the *Friendship* armed vessel, was sent home with the Commodore's dispatches, in token of his approbation of the courage and abilities he had shewn on the day of action. Captain Reid and Lieutenant Caulfield were made Post-Captains; and Lieutenants Molloy and Nugent, Masters and Commanders. As soon as circumstances would admit of it, the army was re-embarked: and orders arriving from the Commanders in Chief for the armament to return to the northward with all possible dispatch, the whole put to sea, and arrived on the 14th of August at Sandy Hook, near New York.

At the time when General Howe evacuated Boston, reinforcements of troops, and a supply of provisions and stores, were daily expected to arrive from Europe for the use of the King's fleet and army. This occasioned a squadron to be left in Nantasket road, under the command of Captain Banks of his Majesty's ship *Renown*, with orders to block up the port of Boston, to intercept all supplies intended for it, and to direct all ships or vessels destined for the British fleet and army, to steer for the port of Halifax in Nova Scotia. Captain Banks remained on that station unmolested until the 14th of June, when General Washington carried into effect the measures he had planned for dislodging this squadron. With great assiduity he had erected batteries of heavy cannon on Point Alderton, and on several islands which commanded the road, and had even brought a thirteen inch mortar to bear upon the ships. Early in the morning a very brisk fire opened on the squadron, and several shells fell very near the ships. Captain Banks returned the fire for several hours; but finding it impossible to
dislodge

Majesty's Commissioners, to General Washington at New York. The officer who carried the letters was received with great politeness; but the letters were returned, as they were not addressed to Mr. Washington in his public capacity, of General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United American States.

On the 12th of August, Commodore Hotham in the *Preston* of fifty guns, accompanied by some frigates, arrived at Sandy Hook, having under his escort the transports with foot guards and Hessians, also the camp equipage for the army; the troops were in exceeding good health: and on the 14th, Commodore Sir Peter Parker and Lieutenant-General Clinton, with the armament under their command, arrived from the southward.* General Howe was now enabled to begin his operations, and to act upon the offensive against the enemy, and he made his arrangements accordingly.† *July 12th*

While every thing was preparing for making a descent on Long Island, Lord Viscount Howe, on the 15th, detached Captain Hyde Parker, in the *Phoenix* of forty-four guns, accompanied by the *Rose* of twenty guns, Captain Wallace, and by the *Tryal* schooner, Lieutenant Brown, up the North River, to take a view of the enemy's works on that side. This service he performed much to the satisfaction of his Lordship, having gone up as far as Tarrytown, which is twenty-five miles from New York, and availing himself of a fresh easterly wind, rejoined the fleet on the 19th, with the ships under his command. As the ships passed and repassed, the enemy's batteries kept up a heavy cannonade upon them, but without any material effect.

General Howe having signified to the Admiral, that it was his intention to make a descent in Gravesend Bay on Long Island, on the morning of the 22d, the necessary dispositions of the fleet were made, and seventy-five flat-boats, with eleven batteaux and two gallies, (built for this service,) were prepared for landing the troops.

Lord

* See Note 43.

† See Note 44.

Lord Howe delegated the direction and superintendence of the embarkation of the army from Staten Island, and of the intended descent, entirely to Commodore Hotham, who conducted this arduous service with the greatest dispatch and good conduct. In the afternoon of the 21st of August, the troops which were to compose the second and third debarkations were put on board transports, sent up from the Hook to Staten Island for that purpose. Early in the morning of the 22d, the Phoenix, Rose, and Greyhound frigates, commanded by Captains Parker, Wallace, and Dickson, together with the Thunder and Carcass bombs, under the direction of Colonel James, were placed in Gravesend Bay, to cover the landing of the army.

The flat-boats, galleys, and three batteaux, manned from the ships of war, were formed into nine divisions, commanded respectively by Captains Vandeput, Masson, Curtis, Caldwell, Phipps, Caulfield, Uppleby, and Duncan, and Lieutenant Reeve of the Eagle. The rest of the batteaux, making a tenth division, manned from the transports, were under the conduct of Lieutenant Bristow, an assistant agent of transports.

As soon as the covering ships had taken their respective stations, the first embarkation of the troops from Staten Island commenced. This, consisting of the light-infantry and the reserve, both forming a body of four thousand men, and under the command of Lieutenant-General Clinton, made good their landing without opposition. The transports with the brigades which composed the second debarkation, consisting of about five thousand men, moved at a little distance after the flat-boats, galleys, and batteaux, and by eight o'clock were ranged on the outside the covering ships. As soon as the flat-boats returned from the shore, their debarkation commenced, and was so expeditiously effected, that they might have supported the first division, if the insurgents had made any attack upon them. The transports with the remainder of the troops, followed the former in proper succession : and such was the activity of Commodore Hotham, the officers and men under his command, in
which

which they were well seconded by the exertions of Captain Bourmaster, and the other agents of transports, that before noon fifteen thousand men, and forty pieces of cannon, were landed on Long Island.

The rebels had only small parties on this part of the coast, who, upon the approach of the boats with the King's forces, retired to the woody heights, commanding a principal pass on the road from Flat-bush to their works at Brooklyne. As soon as the army was landed, General Howe detached Major-General Earl Cornwallis to Flat-bush, with two battalions of light-infantry and Colonel Donop's corps, attended by six field-pieces: he had instructions not to risk an attack upon the pass, if he should find it occupied. This proving to be the case, his Lordship took post in the village. By the position of the army, it extended from the Narrows, through Utrecht and Gravesend, to the village of Flat-land.

On the 25th, General Howe ordered Lieutenant-General de Heister, with two brigades of Hessians from Staten Island, to join the army; leaving one brigade of his troops, a detachment of the fourteenth regiment of foot from Virginia, and some convalescents and recruits, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, for the security of that island.

On the 26th, the General having signified to the Admiral, his intention of advancing that night with the army towards the enemy's lines, expressed his wish that some diversion to favour this movement might be attempted by the fleet: on which, Lord Howe gave orders to Sir Peter Parker to take five ships under his command, and proceed with them towards the city of New York. In the mean time, Lieutenant-General de Heister took post at Flat-bush; and in the evening Earl Cornwallis, with the British, drew off to Flat-land. About nine o'clock the same night, the van of the army, commanded by Lieutenant-General Clinton, consisting of the light dragoons, the brigade of light-infantry, the reserve, under Earl Cornwallis, (excepting the forty-second regiment, which was posted to the left of the Hessians) the first brigade, and the

the seventy-first regiment, with fourteen field-pieces, began to move from Flat-land across the country through the new lots, to seize a pass in the heights, extending from east to west along the middle of the island, and about three miles from Bedford, on the road to Jamaica, in order to turn the enemy's left, posted at Flat-bush.

General Clinton arrived within half a mile of the pass about two hours before day-break on the 27th, halted, and settled his disposition for the attack. One of his patrols falling in with a patrol of the enemy's officers, took them prisoners: and the General learning from their information, that the rebels had not occupied the pass, detached a battalion of light-infantry to secure it; and advancing with his corps upon the first appearance of day, possessed himself of the heights, with such a disposition as must have ensured success, even if he had found the insurgents in force to oppose him.

The main body of the army, consisting of the guards, the second, third, and fifth brigades, with ten field-pieces, was led by Earl Percy, marched soon after General Clinton, and halted an hour before day in the rear of his corps. The country being very close, did not admit of two columns marching abreast, therefore, Earl Percy's column was followed by the forty-ninth regiment, with four medium twelve pounders; and the baggage with a separate guard closed the rear.

As soon as these corps had passed the heights, General Howe ordered them to halt a little, that the soldiers might take some refreshment. Having done this, they continued their march, and about half past eight o'clock arrived at Bedford, in the rear of the enemy's left. The attack was immediately begun by the light-infantry and light dragoons, on large bodies of the rebels provided with cannon, who, having discovered the march of the army, were seen quitting the woody heights before mentioned, in order to return to their lines. These were now driven back, and the army continuing to press on to gain the enemy's rear, the grenadiers and 33d regiment being in front of the column, soon got within musquet-shot of the lines which the
rebels

rebels had thrown up at Brooklyne: Disregarding a warm fire of cannon and small arms from the enemy's lines, these corps continued eagerly to pursue great numbers of them who were precipitately retiring from the heights, until they found themselves close to the principal redoubt of the rebels. This they immediately prepared to assault, but were prevented by General Howe, who repeatedly sent them orders to draw off, with which orders they reluctantly complied.

Lieutenant-General de Heister began soon after day-break to cannonade the enemy in his front; and upon the approach of the right of the King's army, he ordered Colonel Donop's corps to advance and attack the rebels posted on the hill. In this attack, he supported them at the head of his brigades. The light-infantry having been reinforced, about the same time, by a considerable detachment from the foot guards, who had joined them with the greatest alacrity, had taken three pieces of cannon, and were warmly engaged with very superior numbers in the woods. But on the approach of the Hessians, the rebels every where give way, and were completely routed in that quarter.

On the left, General Howe placed Major-General Grant, with the fourth and sixth brigades, the 42d regiment, and two companies of the New York provincials;* with orders to advance along the coast, with ten pieces of cannon, to draw the enemy's attention to that side, and to make them less on their guard to the left of their own army, against which the principal attack was designed. About midnight he fell in with their advanced parties; and at day-break on the 27th, he met a large corps with cannon, very advantageously posted. With these he had some skirmishing and cannonading for some hours, until the firing at Brooklyne gave the rebels to understand, that their left had been turned and forced. Dreading that their right might thus be cut off, with a view of securing it, they made a movement across a swamp and creek that covered the right of their works; but being met in their way by the
second

* Raised by Governor Tryon in the spring.

second battalion of British grenadiers, which was presently supported by the seventy-first regiment, and the left of General Grant's corps coming up at the same time, they sustained great loss. In hopes of making their escape, many of them plunged into the morass, where several were suffocated or drowned. Early in the morning, Sir Peter Parker, having under his command the *Asia*, *Renown*, *Preston*, *Roebuck*, and *Repulse*, attempted to work up towards New York; but the wind having veered to the northward soon after day-break, they could not proceed so far as was intended. The *Roebuck* only, which was the leading ship, was so far advanced that, on perceiving that the corps under Major-General Grant was engaged with the rebels, she was barely able to exchange a few random shot with their battery on Red Hook. Higher it was impossible for the ships to fetch; and the tide of ebb soon after setting strongly down the river, they were obliged to come to an anchor.

General Putnam commanded the rebel troops on Long Island. The force he detached, from his lines at Brooklyne, was computed to be about ten thousand men. These he put under the command of Major-General Sullivan, and Brigadier-Generals Lord Stirling and Udell, who were all three made prisoners in this action. The loss which the rebels sustained in killed, wounded, and drowned, was upwards of two thousand men. The prisoners taken from them, in the course of the day, amounted to nine hundred and ninety-seven men, of which nine officers and fifty-eight privates were wounded. They also lost five field-pieces and one howitzer. On the part of the King's troops, five officers and fifty-six men were killed, and twelve officers and two hundred and forty-five men were wounded.* The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton was the only field-officer wounded. He was shot through the body, but soon recovered. General Howe was highly pleased with the conduct of the officers and men under his command.

Notwithstanding this discomfiture, the spirit of the rebels was not broken; and no deserters came over, to give the British General intelligence of their situation or intentions. General Washington either was in the lines at Brooklyne when his troops were forced from the adjoining heights, or came there soon after, and gave directions for their retreat from Long Island, which they accomplished in the night of the 29th, with so much prudence and secrecy, that they had nearly all reached New York, before their design was discovered by the British army.

In the evening of the 27th, General Howe encamped his army in front of the enemy's works; and, on the 28th at night, broke ground at six hundred yards distance from a redoubt on their left: but he was soon eased of the trouble of carrying on regular approaches, by the rebels abandoning their intrenchments at Brooklyne and Red Hook the following night. On the night of the 30th, they also evacuated Governor's island; leaving cannon and stores in all their works. With such profound silence did they embark at Brooklyne, that their flight was not discovered until day-break of the 30th, when the piquets of the King's army took possession of their lines, &c. The rear guard of the enemy's army were then in boats crossing over to New York, and a few shots were fired at them before they reached the opposite shore, which was all the molestation they received in their retreat from Long Island.

The General and Admiral considering the recent success of their arms, as affording them a favourable opportunity for acting with effect, in their capacity of Commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, now deemed it their indispensable duty to take some steps for the accomplishment of so-desirable a purpose. With this view, they requested a conference, by addressing letters to the Members of Congress in their private capacities, and to some gentlemen at Philadelphia, through the means of Major-General Sullivan, who went there upon his parole. The Congress, although the Commissioners were debarred from treating with them as a public body, agreed to name

name a deputation of their number to hear the propositions which they had to offer. This deputation was accordingly appointed, and on the 11th of September waited upon them at Staten Island, but without being able to agree upon the preliminary stipulations, which the Congress thought necessary to their acting with security and decision.

As the proposed accommodation had thus failed, Lord and General Howe concerted measures to force the enemy's army from New York. With this view five frigates, viz. the Phoenix, Roebuck, Orpheus, Carysfort, and Rose, commanded by Captains Parker, Hamond, Fanshaw, Hudson, and Wallace, passed that town on the evening of the 13th of September, receiving as they passed a heavy fire from the enemy, and came to an anchor off Bushwyck creek, opposite to Kipp's bay in the East River; where it had been determined to endeavour to land the King's troops.

The flat-boats, batteaux, and galleys, were put under the direction of Commodore Hotham, who arranged them in divisions, and placed under the command of Captains Vandeput, Caldwell, Dickson, Caulfield, Phipps, and Molloy, and Lieutenant Howorth of the Eagle, assisted by Lieutenants Henry, Parry, Chads, and Bristow, agents of transports. These were manned from the two-decked ships and transports, and sent up the river at different times from Staten Island. By keeping close to the shore of Long Island, they passed undiscovered by the enemy on the opposite side. Nor, on this occasion, should the very great merit of six masters of transports, viz. Robert Roughead, Richard Fowler, John Randall, Thomas Brown, — Chambers, and — Stuart, be forgotten. They voluntarily offered to conduct the ships they commanded wherever Lord Howe might direct. Their offer was accepted, and they were sent up the East River on the 14th, under the direction of Lieutenants Knowles and Laird, agents of transports. Their vessels were appointed to take on board a number of troops from Bushwyck, who might be at hand to give timely support to the division of troops who should make good their landing,

landing, and who were to be embarked, for that purpose, in flat-boats at Newtown creek.

To draw the attention of the enemy as much as possible from the real object of attack, Lord Howe, at the desire of the General, sent another detachment from the fleet up the North River, viz. the *Renown*, *Repulse*, and *Pearl*, under the command of Captain Banks. They passed the enemy's batteries on the 15th, and anchored off Bloomingdale, about six miles above the town of New York. The night following, the rebels sent four fire vessels successively against them; but with no other effect than obliging the *Renown* and *Pearl* to shift their stations.

When the enemy abandoned their lines at Brooklyne, and retreated from Long Island, General Howe moved the King's army from Bedford, leaving General de Heister, with two brigades of Hessians, encamped upon the heights of Brooklyne, and one brigade of British at Bedford, and took five positions in the neighbourhood of Newtown, Bushwyck, Hellgate, and Flushing. At the same time, he took possession of Montrefor and Buchanan islands; on which he erected batteries against those of the enemy at Horen's Hook, which commanded the passage at Hellgate. The General endeavoured by all his motions, to prepossess the enemy with a belief that he intended to make his descent at Stuyvesant's cove, Horen's Hook, and Harlem: and they accordingly paid their greatest attention to those places. They had also a body of troops posted in the works which they had erected round Kipp's bay, which they regarded only as a secondary object.

The pilots, on account of the strength of the tides, declined to take charge of the covering ships of war that were to be placed towards Hellgate, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that part of the coast. All the five* were therefore, on the morning of the 15th, placed in Kipp's bay, where they began an incessant and well-directed fire against the works in the bay, which they compelled the insurgents to abandon. At the
same

* The *Phoenix*, *Roebuck*, *Orpheus*, *Carysfort*, and *Rose*.

same time, the first division of the army, consisting of the light-infantry, the British reserve, and the Hessian grenadiers and chasseurs, under the command of Lieutenant-General Clinton, having with him Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis, Major-General Vaughan, Brigadier-General Leslie, and Colonel Donop, embarked at the head of Newtown creek, on board of the flat-boats. Conducted by Commodore Hotham, and the navy Captains acting under him, they proceeded down the creek to Kipp's bay; where, under cover of a brisk fire from the frigates, they made good their landing about noon, without opposition from the enemy. General Clinton immediately took post with the troops under his command, on the heights of Inclenberg: in doing of which, Major-General Vaughan was wounded in the thigh by a random shot. The Hessians were ordered to move towards New York, and in executing that order, fell in with a body of the rebels, retiring from Stuyvesant's cove. Some firing ensued, by which the enemy had a Brigadier-General, some other officers, and several men killed and wounded; with the loss of four men killed, and eight wounded, on the part of the Hessians.

As soon as the second debarkation had joined the first, General Howe ordered the whole to move forward, and attack a strong corps of the rebels posted on an eminence, about three miles from Inclenberg towards Kingsbridge, having M'Gowan's pass in the rear. When they saw the King's troops advancing, they retired to the main body of their army on Morris's heights, where General Washington had taken post, and was in great force, having at least eighteen thousand men with him; six thousand of which had been employed at the several bays on East River, to oppose a descent on that part of the coast. Besides these, the insurgents had at least four thousand men in New York, under General Putnam; who being apprized of the danger he run of having his retreat cut off, prudently determined to evacuate the town with all possible secrecy and expedition. Having accordingly obtained guides on whom he could depend, he put his garrison in motion as soon as the day

closed; and by the route in which he was conducted, he avoided all the posts of the King's army, and joined General Washington before day-break the next morning. As soon as it was known that the enemy had abandoned New York, Major-General Robertson, with a brigade of infantry, was detached by the Commander in Chief to take possession of it. The position of the royal army on the night of the 15th, had its right to Horen's Hook, and its left at the North River, near to Bloomingdale. The rebel army occupied the ground, with strong and extensive works, on each side of King'sbridge, and a redoubt with cannon, on a height on the Jersey side of North River, opposite to the Blue Bell.

On the 16th in the morning, a large detachment of the enemy's troops having passed under cover of the woods, near to the advanced posts of the King's army, by way of Vanderwater's height, the second and third battalions of light-infantry, supported by the Royal Highlanders, attacked them and drove them back to their intrenchments. General Washington having immediately marched a corps of at least three thousand men to their support, an action commenced; on which General Howe sent orders to the reserve, with two field-pieces, a battalion of Hessian grenadiers, and a company of chasseurs, to march to the assistance of the British troops and prevent them from being surrounded: but the light-infantry and Royal Highlanders, with the aid of the chasseurs and field-pieces, had repulsed the enemy with considerable loss, and compelled them to retire within their works. On this occasion, the enemy was reported to have lost about three hundred men in killed and wounded; and among the former a Colonel. The King's army had eight officers slightly wounded, fourteen men killed, and about seventy wounded.

About midnight, between the 20th and 21st, some unprincipled zealots to the American cause, attempted to burn the town of New York. The flames broke out at the same time in different parts of the city; matches and combustibles were found artfully prepared for the purpose; nay, wretches were detected

detected in the very act of kindling the matches. Some of these were put to death by the enraged troops; and one of them, who escaped from a sentinel, had the audacity to declare, that he would again embrace the first opportunity of setting fire to the place. As the wind blew high, the town must have been totally destroyed, if the conflagration had not been checked in its progress by the extraordinary exertions of Major-General Robertson, with the troops in garrison under his command, and the brigade of guards, who, on this emergency, were detached from the camp. Notwithstanding their utmost efforts to save it, about one-fourth of the city was consumed.

A considerable quantity of artillery and artillery stores were found in and near New York: and the loss sustained by the King's army, from the 14th to the 21st of September, was but small.*

After waiting two days for a favourable wind, on the 24th, Lord Howe sent Captain Hamond in the *Roebuck*, accompanied by the *Emerald* and *Tartar* frigates, and *Carcass* bomb, against the rebels' post at Paulus Hook, situated on a neck of land on the Jersey side, nearly opposite to New York. On the approach of his Majesty's ships, the enemy abandoned their works and batteries, and a detachment of troops, sent by General Howe to assist in the expedition, immediately landed, and seized them without opposition. The possession of this post was of the greatest importance to the King's forces, as the fleet could now enter the North River, and co-operate with the army, without being annoyed by the enemy's artillery.

On the 8th of October, about four in the morning, the rebels made an attempt to surprize the King's troops stationed on Montresor island, which might be regarded as an out-post to the army. About three hundred and fifty of their men, under a Colonel Jackson, with two field-pieces, came down from Harlem river in five flat-bottomed boats. They were first observed by the *Brune* frigate, then at anchor off the

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island.

* See Note 46.

island, which fired very briskly on them, and sunk one of their boats full of men. The others made good their landing on the island, and attacked the troops posted there, who consisted only of a company of the 71st regiment; but they behaved with such courage and firmness, that they were quickly repulsed and driven back to their boats. They had a Major Hanley, and a considerable number of men killed; and left a Major and twenty-two men wounded, who were made prisoners. Their commandant was also wounded. In this skirmish, the 71st regiment had four men killed, and six wounded.

In order to prevent the rebels from receiving supplies by the North River, Lord Howe sent a detachment of ships, under the command of Captain Hyde Parker, above their works at Jeffrey's Hook, on York island; as they had been attempting to block up the channel of the river, by means of their wooden frames, he was likewise instructed to put a stop to that operation. It was the 9th before the wind served, for the ships to proceed on this service. In passing the enemy's works they suffered considerably in masts and rigging, and had some men killed.† Captain Parker's little squadron chased some of their galleys from their stations, behind the lines of frames and vessels which they had sunk to obstruct the passage of the river. Two of these he took, one mounting a thirty-two pounder, with swivels; the other, two nine and two four pounders. Other two of their galleys, with some small vessels, favoured by the tide and weather, got into shoal water, where they were protected by their works on shore.

General

† Return of the killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ships, in passing the enemy's batteries, on the 9th of October, 1776:

Phoenix.—One Midshipman, two seamen, one servant, killed; one boatswain, one carpenter, eight seamen, one servant, one negro man, one private marine, wounded.

Roeback.—One Lieutenant, one Midshipman, two seamen, killed; one Midshipman, two seamen, one corporal of marines, wounded.

Tartar.—One Midshipman, killed; one Lieutenant of marines, wounded.

Total.—Nine killed; eighteen wounded.

General Howe, after having fully reconnoitred all the enemy's works and posts in front of his army on New York island, found them so strong by nature, and defended by such numbers,* that an immediate attack upon them would probably be attended with such loss, as might in a great measure disable his army for the rest of the campaign, while the rebels would suffer but little by it: and in case of a repulse, he could scarcely hope to be able to maintain the ground he had gained. He therefore resolved to pursue such a plan of operations, as would either compel General Washington to quit his present stronghold, or render his situation extremely hazardous, by cutting off his communication with Connecticut; whereby, as the fleet almost entirely interrupted their intercourse with the Jerseys, the enemy's army must be so hemmed in on all sides, that a timely retreat only could possibly save them from destruction. No time was to be lost, as the rebels were busily preparing to establish themselves where they were for the winter. In order to accomplish his design, Lieutenant-General Earl Percy was left to command on New York island, having under him two brigades of British and one of Hessian infantry, strongly intrenched near Harlem, to cover the city of New York. The Commander in Chief, with the rest of the army on the island of New York, embarked in flat-boats and other craft in Kipp's bay, on the night of the 11th of October, under the direction of Commodore Hotham, and the navy Captains appointed to conduct this service. They rowed down the river, and proceeded to the eastward; but just as they entered the dangerous passage called Hellgate, a thick fog came on, from which every ill consequence was to be apprehended. It fortunately happened, however, that the only injury sustained was the upsetting of an artillery boat; by which accident, two field-pieces and three men were lost. The boats pressed through, and about nine in the morning of the 12th, the troops were landed without opposition, under cover
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* General Washington was supposed to have about nineteen thousand men with him at this time.

of the Carysfort frigate, on the peninsula of Frog's-neck, in the Sound, about ten miles eastward from New York. In this difficult movement, the army was happily extricated from their perilous situation, by the activity and good conduct of Lord Howe, Commodore Hotham, and the navy Captains and officers, who accompanied the troops. At this place, the army was under a necessity of waiting five days for stores and provisions. This delay was occasioned partly by bad weather, and partly by the transporting of three battalions of Hessians from Staten Island, which General Howe had ordered to join the army.

General Howe judging it proper to move the army to the eastward of Frog's-neck, the light-infantry, grenadiers, and other corps of the first embarkation, were embarked in the flat-boats on the 18th, and landed on Pell's-neck, which is separated from Frog's-neck by Hutchinson river. The rest of the army, which had only that narrow stream to pass, were in a few hours conveyed over it, with the artillery and baggage. The whole immediately advanced, and lay that night on their arms; their left upon a creek opposite to East Chester, and their right near to Rochelle.

While the army was on the march to this ground, a skirmish ensued with a small party of the rebels posted to defend a narrow causeway. They were pursued for a mile, when a considerable body of their troops appearing in front, posted behind stone walls and in woods, the General detached some companies of light-infantry, and a part of the chasseurs, to dislodge them. In this they effectually succeeded; but Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave, commanding the first battalion of light-infantry, and Captain Evelyn of the 4th regiment, were both wounded; the latter died of his wounds, and was much regretted: three soldiers were killed, and twenty wounded. The enemy's loss on this occasion was, a Lieutenant-Colonel killed, a Major wounded, and about ninety men killed and wounded.

The 16th regiment of light dragoons, under the command of

of Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, (one transport excepted) arrived on the 3d at Sandy Hook. They, and the 17th regiment of light dragoons, joined the army under General Howe on the 20th of October. On the 21st, the right and centre of the British army took a position about two miles to the northward of Rochelle, on the road to the White Plains; the Commander in Chief leaving Lieutenant-General de Heister, with two brigades of Hessians and one of British, to occupy the former ground. He had also detached Lieutenant-Colonel Rogers, with his corps of Rangers, to take possession of Mamaroneck, where the carelessness of his sentinels, on the 21st, exposed him to a surprise from a large body of the rebels, by which he lost a few men killed or taken. Nevertheless, by a spirited exertion, he rallied his men, and obliged the enemy to retreat, leaving behind them some prisoners, and several killed and wounded. To prevent the like disaster in future, General Howe ordered Brigadier-General Agnew, with the brigade under his command, to sustain the post at Mamaroneck.

The fleet under the command of Captain Fielding, which escorted the second division of the Hessians under Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, and the regiment of Waldeckers, arrived on the 18th at New York, very opportunely to assist General Howe in his operations against the enemy. They were landed on the 22d at Myer's-neck, and ordered to Rochelle, the post communication between the fleet and the army, there to cover the disembarkation of the stores and provisions. This position of the King's troops required a farther provision to be made, for keeping the intercourse open by water with New York and the posts in its environs. Lord Howe, therefore, ordered the *Rose* frigate and *Senegal* sloop to reinforce the frigates and small armed vessels, formerly stationed in the Sound for that purpose. The Honourable Captain Phipps, with some flat-boats manned from the squadron, was ordered to attend the army, and assist them in their movements when necessary. When they marched at any distance from the sea-coast,

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... attendance and an unusual degree of fatigue,
... the various movements of the army, were great
... and deserve the highest praise.
... the movement of the King's army to Frog's-neck, the
... detached a corps to White Plains, where General Wash-
... soon followed it, having quitted his position, with the
... of his forces about Kingsbridge, with some precipita-
... Leaving near three thousand men for the defence of
Fort Washington, on New York island, he extended his army
in one line, and took post behind the Bronx river, from
Valentine's Hill, near Kingsbridge, to White Plains, in de-
tached camps, every where intrenched. His left, by this posi-
tion, covered an upper communication with Connecticut and
the northern colonies, as well as the road along the North
River. General Howe therefore judged it expedient to move
towards White Plains, and endeavour to force him to an ac-
tion; especially, as from their superior discipline and better
appointments he had every reason to expect, that it would
prove favourable to the King's troops. The movement of
General Washington with his army, from the neighbourhood
of Kingsbridge, proved a most fortunate circumstance for
the rebels: for if he had persisted in keeping behind his works
there, with a design of preserving a communication with the
southern colonies, General Howe might have been enabled to
have blocked him up; and as the British fleet would have co-
operated with the army by means of the North River, he would
have entirely cut off his retreat, and forced him and his troops
to surrender at discretion. From this disagreeable dilemma he
was extricated, by the fortunate arrival of Major-General Lee
in his camp near Kingsbridge. With this officer he held
several consultations: and as they had commonly but too cor-
rect

At intelligence of General Howe's motions, they endeavoured on these to penetrate into his designs. Mr. Lee, seeing clearly the hazardous situation of their army, urged General Washington, without loss of time, to change his position, and to march towards White Plains; a rough, stony, and hilly tract of country, which grows still more rugged in the interior parts, where the hills turn into mountains, and where the roads, as you advance, become rougher and more difficult. By this change of position, the General might at any time, if pressed, retreat into this tract of country, without the possibility of being pursued, and still preserve the upper communication with the New England colonies: whereas, if he had remained where he then was, and been forced into a general engagement, the loss of a battle might have been attended with the worst consequences to the revolted colonies, by rendering his retreat into the Jerseys almost impracticable. Besides, his troops were much dejected, by the many severe checks which they had received in the course of the campaign, and by a considerable reduction of their numbers, occasioned both by the casualties of war, and by a sickness which greatly prevailed among them. Their being unaccustomed to the practices and habits of a military life, the excessive fatigues to which they had been exposed, poor accommodations, insufficient cloathing, and a scarcity of salt, had also contributed, in no small degree, to render them unhealthy and dispirited. General Washington therefore followed General Lee's advice, quitted Kingsbridge, and moved to the eastward.

By the position of the King's troops, they were masters of the lower road through Connecticut to Rhode Island and Boston; but in order to dispossess the rebels of the upper road, General Howe determined to march to White Plains: to preserve which, he was in hopes that General Washington would risk a battle. The arrival of General Knyphausen, with the second embarkation of foreign troops, enabled the British General to move against the enemy in great force. General de Heister, with his corps, having orders to join on the march,
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the army moved in two columns on the 25th of October, and took a position, with the river Brunx in front, the right line being at the distance of four miles from White Plains. The rebels on observing this, quitted their detached camps between Kingsbridge and White Plains, and assembled their whole force at the latter place, where they took post behind intrenchments that had been thrown up by their advanced corps. In their strong intrenched posts, their forces appeared very formidable, and presented a front equal to the line of march of the royal army, which had the deep and rapid river Brunx running between it and the enemy, and the North River at some distance, in their rear; while General Washington had the hilly country behind him, to which he could retreat, if he should be driven to that necessity, and where the ruggedness of the country was such, as to render a successful pursuit of him next to impossible.

Whilst the royal army was on its march, the enemy's General several times sent out small detachments across the Brunx, both to harass the King's troops, and to observe their motions. This occasioned frequent skirmishes, in which the enemy were always beaten back, and compelled to shelter themselves behind the Brunx.

General Howe having fully reconnoitred the position of the rebel army, proceeded to the execution of his plan. Early on the morning of the 28th, the royal army was formed into two columns, and marched toward the enemy; the column on the right being led by Lieutenant-General Clinton, and that on the left by Lieutenant-General de Heister. Before noon, all the enemy's advanced parties were driven back to their works by the light-infantry and chasseurs; and the army was formed, with the right upon the road from Mamaroneck to White Plains, about a mile from the centre of the enemy's lines, and the left to the Brunx, near the same distance from the left flank of their intrenchments.

General Washington had posted a corps on a commanding ground, separated from the right flank of his intrenchments by the

the Brunx, which, by changing its course nearly at right angles, also separated this corps in front, from the left of the King's army.

Colonel Raille, who commanded a brigade of Hessians on the left, observing this position of the enemy, and perceiving a height on the other side of the Brunx unoccupied by them, from whence their left flank might be galled, took possession of it with great alacrity: Sir William Erskine acquainted General de Heister with this movement, who approved very much of it. Upon viewing the enemy's situation, General Howe gave orders for a battalion of Hessians, which was to be supported by the second brigade of British, under the command of Brigadier-General Leslie, and the Hessian grenadiers from the right, commanded by Colonel Donop, to pass the Brunx, and attack the enemy's detached corps. Colonel Raille was at the same time directed to charge the enemy's flank, as the Hessian battalion advanced upon their front. The passage of the river being extremely difficult, the 28th and 35th regiments, who were the first to support the Hessians, forded it at a place most practicable, and forming on the opposite bank with the greatest steadiness, although all the time exposed to a severe fire, ascended the steep hill, and in defiance of all opposition, rushed upon the enemy with fixed bayonets, routed, and drove them back from their works. These two brave battalions were instantly supported by the 5th and 49th regiments, who displayed the same ardent zeal to distinguish themselves. The Hessian grenadiers also coming up and passing the Brunx, ascended the height with great alacrity, and in the best order.

This material post being gained, the Hessian grenadiers were ordered forward upon the heights, within cannon shot of the enemy's intrenchments; the Brunx, from its winding course, being still between them and their right flank. The second brigade of British formed a little in the rear of them: and the two brigades of Hessians on the left of the second brigade, with their left upon the road leading from Tarrytown to White Plains.

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The right and centre of the British army did not move from their ground. In this position, the troops lay upon their arms during the night : and with very little alteration encamped the next day. The British and Hessian artillery, and all the King's troops, engaged upon this occasion, greatly distinguished themselves ; and the Commander in Chief was highly pleased with the behaviour of both officers and men. The loss which the army sustained in this action was but small, if we consider, that the rebels occupied strong ground, which they had fortified ; and the only approach to them was defended by the rapid river Brunx, which must be passed before they could be forced from their works. In passing it, Lieutenant-Colonel Carr, of the 35th regiment, was mortally wounded.*

General Howe fully intended to follow up his blow, and to attack the enemy's army early on the morning of the 29th, and every thing was prepared accordingly ; but when day-light came it was perceived, that they had drawn back and taken a new position, and that they had used the utmost diligence to render it as secure as possible, by throwing up many strong works in the front of their camp. The Commander in Chief, and the other general officers, having reconnoitred this new position of the rebel army with the utmost care and attention, it was judged proper to defer the attack on their intrenchments, until some reinforcements should join the army. These were immediately ordered. Earl Percy was directed to detach the fourth brigade of British from New York island ; which, with two battalions of the sixth brigade from Mamaroneck, joined the army on the afternoon of the 30th. General Howe having fixed upon the next day for the attack, a disposition was made accordingly ; but the night and next morning proved so very wet, that there was an absolute necessity for its being postponed. In the mean time, a deserter having gone over to the enemy, gave General Washington notice of what was intended, and thereby frustrated the schemes of the British Commander. The enemy's General, who had too much penetration

* See Note 47.

tion not to perceive the danger he was in, averted the intended blow by immediately retiring with his army to Northcastle, a mountainous tract of country, leaving a very strong rear guard on the heights and in the woods, about a mile back from his lines. In the night of the 1st of November, before he moved off with his troops, he had set fire to all the houses in and near his works, most of which were consumed. Next morning, the Hessian grenadiers took possession of his intrenchments, and encamped within them.

Every motion of General Washington indicated that his intention was, if possible, to avoid coming to a general action. He had the strongest reasons for adopting the system of Fabius; especially, if he thought that he had an Hannibal to oppose. Delays produced effects to him almost equivalent to victories: at the same time, he did not restrain his troops from small actions; which, whether successful or the contrary, were of little importance to the cause he had espoused, but which served to familiarize his men to danger, and to train them for enterprise when an unguarded moment should occur, that might enable him to take advantage of the mistakes or inadvertencies of his adversaries.

General Howe, finding that it would be to no purpose to pursue the rebels into the fastnesses of Northcastle, determined to take measures for driving them from New York island, that his own army might have more convenient winter-quarters. To accomplish this, Lieutenant-General Knyphausen was ordered, on the 28th of October, to leave the regiment of Waldeck at Rochelle, and to move, with the six battalions of Hessians under his command, towards King's Bridge. He took post at Mile's Square and Valentine's Hill; and on the 2d of November, encamped on the island of New York, near to King's Bridge; the enemy having quitted the heights of Fordham upon his approach, and retired to Fort Washington.

On the 3d of November, General Howe ordered his army to provide three days forage: and on the 4th, he detached Major-General Grant, with the 4th brigade, to Mile's Square

and Valentine's Hill; the sixth brigade to a bridge over the Bronx, in West Chester, near De Lancey's Mill; and the Waldeck regiment to another post, three miles above the former, on the same river. On the 6th, the army, along with the Commander in Chief, marched to Dobb's Ferry on the North River, where they encamped. On the 7th, the park of artillery moved to King's Bridge, under a strong escort and a detachment of chasseurs, where it joined Lieutenant-General Knyphausen. On the 8th, two battalions of light-infantry, and the remainder of the chasseurs, with four field-pieces, took post between King's Bridge and the army. On the 10th, a brigade of Hessians was sent to reinforce Lieutenant-General Knyphausen. On the 12th, General Howe marched his army towards King's Bridge; and on the 13th, encamped upon the heights of Fordham, forming a line with his right to the Bronx, upon the West Chester road, and his left to the North River. By this disposition, New York island was completely invested.

While the King's army moved to Dobb's Ferry, General Washington sent down, from his strongholds, several detachments to White Plains, where they burned what they had not before destroyed, and distressed the inhabitants in a most wanton manner. It was supposed, that he made this irruption with a design to divert the British General from attacking Fort Washington; or by inducing him to march a large corps against these detached parties, to afford the garrison left in that fort an opportunity of escaping, and of forming a junction with him, before their communication should be completely cut off. During the time that the royal army remained at Dobb's Ferry, General Washington sent a large detachment over the North River by King's Ferry to Jersey: and the troops he had sent to White Plains were employed in intrenching themselves there, and at Croton Bridge, and in building barracks at those places, and at Peck's-kill, near the foot of the highlands, for their winter habitations. But General Howe was not to be diverted from his purpose by these measures, for Fort Washington was an object of so great importance, that while the rebels kept possession

possession of it, and of Fort Lee on the opposite shore of Jersey, they were almost masters of the navigation of the North River, besides occupying a considerable part of New York island. Preparations were therefore made for a general attack, and thirty flat-boats, under the direction of Captains Wilkinfon and Molloy, passed up the North River on the night of the 14th, undiscovered by the enemy. Every thing being ready, and the attack fixed for the morning of the 16th, General Howe sent Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, Adjutant-General, on the 15th, to summon the commanding officer of Fort Washington to surrender, and to warn him of the consequences that must attend a general attack. His reply was, that he would defend himself to the last extremity.

The General having therefore no alternative, proceeded to put his plan in execution. The disposition he made on this occasion was as follows: four attacks were determined upon. The first, under the command of Lieutenant-General Knypshausen, was to be made against the enemy's left, on the side of King's Bridge, in two columns, formed by detachments from the Hessians of his corps, the brigade of Raille, and the regiment of Waldeck.

The second was to be made by the first and second battalions of light-infantry, and two battalions of guards, under the command of Brigadier-General Matthew. These were to land, by Harlem creek, upon the enemy's right, from thirty flat-boats; and were to be supported by the first and second battalions of grenadiers and thirty-third regiment, under the command of Lord Cornwallis.

The third attack was intended as a feint, to be made upon the left of the enemy's lines towards New York, by the 42d regiment, which was, for that purpose, to be embarked in batteaux, in a creek opposite to Colonel Morris's house.

The fourth attack was to be made by Lord Percy, with the corps under his command, on York island; he was to assault the right flank of the rebels intrenchments on that side.

The field artillery and batteries being properly disposed for

the three attacks on the side of King's Bridge and Harlem creeks, Lieutenant-General Knyphausen moved forward about noon; but having to pass through a thick wood, in which the enemy were very advantageously posted, it was some time before he could penetrate it: and his corps was of consequence, for a considerable time, exposed to the fire of three pieces of cannon. As soon as this attack began, the light-infantry moved, and landed under a brisk fire, before and after they had quitted the boats, from a party of the insurgents posted behind rocks and trees. By getting up a very steep and uneven mountain with their usual activity, they soon dispersed them. The guards, followed by the grenadiers and 33d regiment, landed without any loss.

Intelligence, in the mean time, being brought to General Howe, that Lord Percy had carried an advanced work, he sent orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Stirling, commanding the 42d regiment, to endeavour to land, and directed two battalions of the second brigade to support him. In obedience to these orders, he immediately advanced with great perseverance in his boats, through a heavy fire, made good his landing, and instantly forming his men, he forced his way up a steep height, which was well defended by a body of the rebels, gained the summit, took a hundred and seventy prisoners; penetrating across the island, and facilitated Lord Percy's success against the enemy's lines opposed to him, which his Lordship passed.

Colonel Raille, who led the right column of Lieutenant-General Knyphausen's attack, having, after a considerable opposition, forced the enemy from their strongholds, pushed forward to their advanced works, and lodged his column within one hundred yards of the fort, from whence he summoned them to surrender; and perceiving their critical situation, they readily desired to treat.

Lieutenant-General Knyphausen's column, having more impediments to encounter in passing through the wood, could not join the right column until they had got up to the fort. The enemy, upon his appearance, surrendered prisoners of war, to the
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the number of two thousand seven hundred men, officers included; besides the prisoners made by the Royal Highland regiment. They had three officers and fifty men killed, and six officers and ninety men wounded, in the different attacks.

The loss sustained by the King's troops, on this severe piece of service, was not so great as there was reason to have apprehended, considering the enemy's numbers and the strong ground which they occupied. General Howe was exceedingly well pleased with the behaviour of the officers and men; and in complement to the Hessian General, to whom Fort Washington surrendered, he changed its name to Fort Mifflin.*

The only place of strength which the enemy now held in the vicinity of New York, was Fort Mifflin in the province of New Jersey, situated on the North River, and nearly opposite to Fort Mifflin. General Howe resolved to attack it immediately, as the possession of it would secure the entire command of the North River, and opened a road to penetrate into Jersey. For this purpose, Lord Howe sent the Honourable Captain Mifflin, with an additional number of boats, up the North River to Kingsbridge, in the night of the 17th, unperceived by the enemy; and the next morning the following corps, viz. the first and second battalions of British light-infantry, two companies of chasseurs, a battalion of British and two battalions of Hessian grenadiers, two battalions of guards, the 33d and 42d regiments, with their artillery, under the command of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis, made good their landing on the Jersey shore. His Lordship divided the troops under his command into two divisions: the first of which, under Major-General Vaughan, landed about seven miles above Fort Mifflin, about eight o'clock in the morning, and marched directly towards it; the second division, headed by his Lordship, went up the east side of the river, and landed a few miles below the fort; by which movement, the whole corps was landed with their cannon before ten o'clock. The seamen distinguished themselves remarkably upon this occasion, by their

* See Note 48.

readiness to drag the cannon up a rocky narrow road, for about half a mile, to the top of a precipice, which bounds the shore for some miles on the west side.

Lord Cornwallis marched immediately against Fort Lee, where the rebel General Green commanded: and had not the enemy been apprized of his approach by a countryman, after he had advanced a considerable way, he would have surrounded upwards of two thousand of their troops in the fort; but on receiving this intelligence, they escaped in the utmost confusion, leaving all their artillery, and a large quantity of stores and provisions, their tents standing, and their kettles upon the fire.* Their baggage also fell into the hands of the conquerors; and such was the rapidity of the flight of the rebels, that only six officers, their staff, and ninety-nine of their privates, were made prisoners.

When General Washington perceived that General Howe had resolved to attack Fort Washington, he crossed the North River with a part of his army, on the 12th of November, and stationed himself in the neighbourhood of Fort Lee. The army which he left in Northcastle might amount to ten thousand continental troops, and three thousand militia, under the command of Major-General Lee; but the time of service of nearly one half of this army was within a few days of expiring. General Washington was at Fort Lee when the British army attacked Fort Washington, and felt much distressed when he saw his troops successively driven, with considerable loss, from all their posts. When it was taken he withdrew part of his troops to Hackinsack, leaving General Green to command the forces left at Fort Lee, which place is situated upon a neck of land about ten miles long, bounded on the one side by the North River, and on the other by the Hackinsack, and English-neighbourhood a branch of it, neither of which are fordable near the fort. The neck joins the main land, almost opposite to the communication between the North and East Rivers, at Kingbridge.

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* See Note 49.

When the accounts of Lord Cornwallis's advancing against Fort Lee was brought to General Green, he was in bed : and without waiting for orders from General Washington, he directed the troops under his command to march immediately, and to secure their retreat, by possessing themselves of the English-neighbourhood; and at the same time, he sent off an express to General Washington at Hackinsack, with intelligence of what had happened. General Green conducted this retreat in a very able manner. Had it not been for his alertness, all the troops in and about the fort must have been either cut to pieces or made prisoners, which at this critical time would have proved the ruin of the American cause : for it was the design of Lord Cornwallis to form a line across, from the place of landing to Hackinsack bridge, and thereby to inclose the whole of the enemy's troops between the North and Hackinsack rivers. General Washington advanced with some troops to meet General Green on his retreat ; and both took post so as to secure Hackinsack bridge, and retard a pursuit, if any should be made after them.

General Washington did not consider himself as safe at Hackinsack. Having therefore collected what forces he could, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, he retreated on the 22d of November to Newark.

Earl Cornwallis having secured Fort Lee, encamped the troops under his command in its vicinity. On the 19th, he detached Major-General Vaughan, with the light infantry and British grenadiers, to the new bridge upon the Hackinsack river, and was joined by a detachment of the 16th regiment of light dragoons. These, with some companies of light-infantry, scoured the country on the 22d as far as Pisaick river, found it every where abandoned, and received intelligence, that the advanced guard of the enemy's army was at Aquakinunc.

General Howe having, on the 24th, farther reinforced Earl Cornwallis, with the second and fourth brigades of British, and one battalion of the 71st regiment, his Lordship left the second brigade at Fort Lee, and proceeded on the 25th, with the main

body of his corps, to Newbridge; from whence the rebels retired as he advanced. On the 28th, he reached Newark: General Washington having quitted it that morning. By a forced march, the van of Lord Cornwallis's corps pushed on to Princetown, and reached it before the enemy had left it: but on its approach, they instantly retreated with great precipitation, having first broken down a part of the bridge over the Rariton at that place, to retard the progress of the King's forces.

Earl Cornwallis was instructed not to advance beyond Brunswick; General Howe intending only to get and keep possession of East Jersey. This prevented his Lordship from continuing his pursuit of General Washington; but he wrote to General Howe, informing him, that by the accounts he had received, great advantages might be obtained by pushing on to the Delaware, as this might probably lead to the possession of the city of Philadelphia. The General answered, that he intended to join his Lordship immediately at Brunswick; but he was prevented from accomplishing his design until the 6th of December, when he brought with him the fourth brigade, commanded by Major-General Grant. On the 7th, Lord Cornwallis's corps (the guards who were left at Brunswick excepted) marched to Princetown. On the 8th, they proceeded in two divisions. The first advanced to Trenton, and reached the Delaware soon after the rear guard of the enemy's army had crossed it; their main army having passed the preceding day and night, and taken post on the other side of the river.

Lord Cornwallis, with the second division of his corps, halted at Maidenhead, six miles from Trenton; and marched, at one o'clock of the morning on the 9th, to Corriel's Ferry, thirteen miles higher up the Delaware, in expectation of finding boats there and in the neighbourhood, for crossing the river: but in this he was disappointed; the enemy having had the precaution to destroy or secure all of them, that were fit for being employed in this service.

His Lordship finding it impracticable to cross the Delaware,
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took post at Pennington, and directed the other division of his corps to take post at Trenton. When the rebel army retreated, General Washington wrote, in the most pressing manner, to Major-General Lee, who had crossed from Northcastle to Jersey, with near three thousand men, to join him with his corps immediately, as the least delay might be fatal. Lord Cornwallis in the mean time, anxious to gain intelligence of the force under General Lee, sent out for that purpose a patrol, consisting of thirty men of the 16th regiment of light dragoons, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, who accomplished his Lordship's wishes in a manner that reflected the highest honour on that excellent officer. On the 13th, he received intelligence that the rebel troops, under the command of Major-General Lee, were encamped near Baskingridge; but that the General's head-quarters was at a considerable distance from his camp, and that his guard was so placed, as to allow of access to the house wherein he lodged without their knowledge. The Colonel resolved to avail himself of this information, and to attempt to seize upon his person; which he effected without obstacle or difficulty. Mr. Lee being completely surpris'd, before he had time to make resistance, or give any alarm, he was compelled to mount behind one of the Colonel's troopers; and was in this manner conducted to Pennington.

General Howe having made the necessary arrangements for cantoning his army in the Jerseys for the winter,* and the weather becoming too severe for the men to keep the field, the army broke up camp on the 14th, and marched to their respective stations.

The General very justly regretted, that the chain of cantonments which he was obliged to occupy was rather too extensive for the strength of his army; but he was induced to possess Burlington to cover the county of Monmouth, where many of the inhabitants professed themselves to be loyal to his Majesty; and he was given to understand, that the country to the south-

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* See Note 50.

ward of his cantonments was in general disposed to submit. Perhaps it might have been better, to have deferred taking possession of Rhode Island until the spring; which would have enabled the Commander in Chief to have kept more troops in the Jerseys, and of course to have guarded more effectually against the irruptions of the rebel forces across the Delaware. This however is only conjecture: for he may have regulated his conduct on this occasion, entirely from the instructions that had been given to him; or he may have concluded, from the weak condition to which the enemy's army was reduced, that the winter-quarters of the royal army could be in no danger from newly raised troops, who were at that time to be regarded only as militia. Towards the end of November it was determined to make an attack on Rhode Island, which was the principal station of the enemy's naval force, from which they sent swarms of privateers, that greatly annoyed the British commerce both in America and the West Indies. The command of the land-forces, destined for this service, was given to Lieutenant-General Clinton. They consisted of two brigades of British and two of Hessian troops, with some chasseurs, light-infantry, artillery, &c.: the command of the co-operating fleet was given to Sir Peter Parker.* The military force being embarked, Sir Peter directed Commodore Hotham to proceed, with his Majesty's ships *Brune* and *Mercury*, and King's *Fisher* sloop, together with the transports having the troops on board, by way of the Sound. They sailed on the 1st of December: and the same day Sir Peter, with the large ships under his command, proceeded by way of Sandy Hook, and coasting along Long Island, on the 5th joined Commodore Hotham in Blackpoint Bay in the Sound. This place had been most judiciously chosen, for the protection of the transports against the violence of a strong north-west wind, that had blown the night before the arrival of the line of battle ships.

On the 6th, the whole fleet weighed and turned down the Sound. The wind changing to W. S. W. at four in the morning

* See Note 51.

ing on the 7th, they were enabled to come to anchor off Weaver's cove in Rhode Island, by three o'clock in the afternoon. On the 8th, the fleet again weighed anchor, and proceeded up the West or Narraganset Passage, being led by the Experiment of fifty guns, Captain Wallace. General Clinton having reconnoitred the coast, made a disposition for landing the troops; which was effected at day-break on the 9th, under cover of the frigates: the disembarkation of the army being intrusted to Captain Caulfield of the Bristol. The rebels made no opposition to them; but quitted their works, and retired to Bristol Ferry. General Clinton detached the grenadiers and light-infantry of the army in pursuit of them, under the command of Major-General Prescott, whom he supported by a body of troops commanded by Lieutenant-General Earl Percy. They compelled the enemy to quit a small fort opposite to Bristol Ferry, and to retire to the continent with great precipitation. Major-General Prescott's corps took two pieces of cannon and several prisoners. General Clinton also detached a battalion which took possession of the town of Newport, the capital of the island, where they found some cannon and stores, which the enemy had left behind them on their flight.

On the first appearance of his Majesty's ships off Rhode Island, three large privateers belonging to the enemy, which lay at anchor in Newport road, slipped their cables and pushed up the river to the town of Providence; where, with several others, they were effectually blocked up. The enemy soon experienced the inconveniency of Rhode Island being in possession of the King's forces; for on the 18th of December, the squadron retook the Betty transport, which came in by mistake, and as it was blowing strong from the west, endeavoured to push up the river. On the 28th, a small privateer appeared off the harbour, on which Sir Peter Parker made the Cerberus's signal to slip and pursue her. The privateer escaped; but in a few days the Cerberus returned with two prizes, and a brig which she had retaken.

The Diamond, Captain Fielding, sailed from Sandy Hook

on a cruize on the 27th of November ; and the weather soon after obliging him to put into Martha's Vineyard, he sent his boat ashore with a flag of truce. The inhabitants suffered the boat to come within gun-shot, and then fired upon her ; by which means, one man was wounded. To punish this piece of treachery, Captain Fielding landed his marines, who immediately attacked and put to flight a party of the enemy, though they were strongly posted on a hill and sheltered by rocks and bushes, from behind which they kept up a brisk fire. In this skirmish Captain Fielding had one man killed, and one wounded : the rebels had four killed, and a great many wounded. As soon as the enemy fled, the marines set fire to their houses and barns, and brought off several oxen, sheep, and a number of poultry, &c. The Diamond proceeded then to Rhode Island, where Sir Peter Parker stationed her off Warwick-neck. On the morning of the 20th of February, 1777, in bending to the tide she got aground. This disaster was soon perceived by the enemy, who presently brought some cannon (twenty-four pounders) to the point of land nearest to the spot where she was fixed, from which they kept up a very brisk fire upon her until night. The Diamond lay all the while on her beam ends, and could not bring more than two of her guns to bear upon the rebels. Captain Fielding, who in this trying situation behaved with the greatest intrepidity and coolness, ordered most of the water casks to be started, and got anchors out, to endeavour to warp the ship off, as soon as the tide should make. These preparatory measures being taken, regardless of personal danger, he kept constantly on the quarter-deck to observe what might occur ; but directed most of his men to go below, as their exposing themselves to the enemy's shot could be of no service. Fortunately for his Majesty's ship, the enemy took very bad aim. Most of their shot going over her, not one of her crew was either killed or wounded ; but seven shot pierced her bottom, and her fore-top-mast and rigging were very much wounded and cut. It was greatly to be apprehended, that the enemy would set her on fire in the night ; the greatest exertions were therefore made to get her off, and on the

the return of the tide, she was fortunately got afloat. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on Captain Fielding, and his officers and men, for their intrepid and active conduct upon this occasion.

In the month of November, a small body of the rebel troops made an irruption into the province of Nova Scotia, where they were joined by a considerable number of disaffected persons, and by almost all the original French settlers. They were commanded by one Jonathan Eddy, who, on the 20th of month, sent a summons to Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Goreham, commanding in Fort Cumberland, to surrender that place directly; but he received such an answer, as might be expected from a spirited and zealous officer. Soon after this, Lieutenant-Colonel Goreham received a reinforcement of men and a supply of stores from Halifax, which was sent him by Major-General Massey, and escorted by some ships of war sent by Sir George Collier. Thus strengthened, he ordered a sally to be made, under the command of Major Batt, which was so well conducted, that several of the rebels' works were destroyed, and some of their cannon taken. This success compelled the besiegers to relinquish their enterprise, and retire from the province; and the disaffected persons dispersed.

When General Lee was made prisoner, the command of the corps which was under his orders, devolved on General Sullivan; who lost not a moment in complying with General Washington's injunctions, to cross the Delaware with his troops and join him in Pennsylvania.

The capture of General Lee was attended with another consequence of so much importance to both armies, as to merit particular notice. As General Lee had borne a commission in his Majesty's service, General Howe regarded him as a deserter, and refused to admit of his being exchanged, in terms of the cartel mutually agreed upon for the exchange of prisoners. It was indeed supposed by some, that the British Commander in Chief acted on this occasion by particular instructions, which directed the retention of Lee, in the event of his being captured, that he might be brought to public trial.

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In opposition to this measure, General Washington however insisted, that General Lee ought to be exchanged; asserting, that he could be no deserter, as he had resigned his half-pay in the British service, before he took up arms in the American cause: and declaring at the same time, that whatever steps might be taken against the General, he would retaliate on a British officer of the highest rank in his custody. To make good this threat, Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, of the 71st regiment, was recalled from the country village where he was at large on his parole, sent to Boston, there closely confined in a dungeon, and treated with the utmost rigour. This disagreeable affair was at last terminated: first, by granting a proper degree of liberty to General Lee, when the same was restored to Colonel Campbell; and finally, by exchanging the prisoners and restoring the cartel.

The conduct of the American cause at this time, although not immediately within the general scope of this work, attracts particular attention. They were seemingly reduced to a very low ebb, being left almost without an army, and encompassed with dangers and difficulties; notwithstanding which, they preserved a firm and undaunted countenance, never making any advances for peace, but persevering in such exertions as at length effectually restored their affairs to prosperity and success. They had experienced the inconvenience of levying troops for a short period only; and determining in future to avoid it, near the end of autumn they set about raising eighty-three battalions, to serve during the continuance of the war. To encourage these levies, a bounty of twenty dollars per man was offered, and an allotment of lands was destined to every soldier who should serve until the ratification of a peace, and to the representatives of those who should be slain in action. Five hundred acres were the highest, and one hundred the lowest allotment. To prevent improper advantages from being taken of the thoughtless or necessitous soldiers, by artful or designing men, the lands so allotted were declared to be unalienable during the continuance of the war. Previous to this enactment they

they had instituted a law, which entitled all soldiers and sailors, disabled in action, to half-pay during the remainder of their lives. Notwithstanding all these encouragements, their new levies went on heavily; so that Congress, in November, was obliged to change the proposed term of service to a period of three years only: allowing the same bounty, but withholding the allotment of lands. Still, their progress in recruiting was far from answering their expectations and intentions; until the success of the indefatigable Commander in Chief of their armies at last gave a spur to their efforts, freed them from many of their embarrassments, and brought by his means the willing recruits in great numbers to their standard.

Congress also finding the sums raised, by the colonies owning their authority, to be inadequate to the purposes of carrying on the war, resolved to borrow four millions of dollars, at four per cent. interest, on the faith of the United States; which was pledged to the lenders for the payment of both principal and interest. They likewise sent Dr. Franklin to France, accompanied by others of their firm adherents, with full powers to assume public characters, whenever they should deem such a measure beneficial to their constituents; and to enter into alliances, political as well as commercial, with such states as should be disposed to favour the cause of the revolted colonies.

Many complaints were made to Congress of the irregularities committed, in the provinces of New York and New Jersey, by the King's-troops, particularly by the Hessians. These they were careful to publish, no doubt with circumstances of aggravation, the more to discredit their enemies among their associates in arms: and this expedient was successful, in heightening the detestation of the revolted Americans against the military, especially against the Hessians, whom they were taught to regard with horror.

When his Majesty's forces had compelled General Washington to retire across the Delaware, the Congress was then assembled at Philadelphia, and by his advice removed to Baltimore

more in Maryland. The ill success of the rebel arms this campaign, and the general pardon offered by his Majesty's Commissioners, encouraged the Quakers to join their influence to the lesser or Tory Party, who adhered to the cause of the mother-country. This occasioned great dissension in the city of Philadelphia; insomuch, that if Lord Cornwallis had been able to get across the Delaware with the troops under his orders, he might have established the ascendancy of the friends of Government in the metropolis of North America: for when his Lordship with his corps appeared on the opposite banks of the river, and Congress gave orders to fortify the city, the loyal party (at the head of which was Mr. Galloway and the Allen family) was so powerful, as to prevent these orders from being carried into execution. General Washington being informed that things were in this state, immediately detached Lord Stirling from his camp, with three battalions, to support the authority of Congress, and to cause fortifications to be erected. This step effectually answered the first purpose; but the design of fortifying the city seems to have been laid aside, as perhaps impracticable at that time.

It has been already observed, that the severity of the weather had obliged General Howe to break up his camp, and put his army into winter-quarters; and that the line which his troops occupied was very extensive. Notwithstanding its great extent, he might hope that in the event of an attack, (of which however he appears to have had no suspicion) the cantonments might be able to support each other, until their assembled numbers should become sufficiently powerful to force the rebels to retire.

General Washington, who never failed to be furnished with the best information of every particular relating to his opponents, formed a most masterly plan for attacking several of the British cantonments situated on the Delaware, at one and the same time. His army had been considerably increased by the arrival of some of the new levies, and he was determined to execute his design before it could be suspected by his adversaries. He
formed

formed his troops destined for this service into three divisions, and marched them so as to arrive on the banks of the Delaware on the night of Christmas-day. Two of these divisions he placed under the command of Generals Erwing and Cadwalader : the first of which was ordered to cross the river at Trenton Ferry, about a mile below that town ; and the other still lower down, towards Bordentown. The third division, being the principal part of his army, was conducted by himself, having under him Generals Sullivan and Green, and consisted of two thousand seven hundred men, attended by a train of artillery of twenty brass field-pieces. With this corps he arrived at McKinley's Ferry, about nine miles above Trenton, at the time appointed, and was in hopes of being able to cross the river, with his division and the artillery, before midnight, so as to arrive at Trenton, where Colonel Raile commanded a brigade of Hessians, before day-light the next morning. He found the river was so encumbered with ice, that it was with the greatest difficulty the boats could make their way to the opposite shore, which, together with the extreme severity of the weather, made it near four o'clock in the morning before he was capable of beginning his march. In his progress, he was likewise so greatly incommoded by a snow and hail storm, also by the slipperiness of the roads, that it required his utmost exertions to reach his destination by eight o'clock in the morning.

As soon as General Washington had got his troops landed on the Jersey shore, he formed them into two divisions, one of which took the lower road to Trenton, whilst the other, headed by himself, took the road which led to the same place by Pennington. Meeting with no obstacle on their march, though the day was far advanced, they were close to Trenton before they were observed. General Washington's division attacked an out-post at some distance from the town : the other division, at the same time, drove in the out-guards on their side ; and the surprise was as complete as the enemy could wish. On the firing of General Washington's cannon, Colonel Raile detached his own regiment to support the piquet that

was first attacked; but before its arrival, they had been obliged to retire towards the town. Meeting in their retreat the regiment that was advancing to their relief, and pressing upon it, it was thrown into some disorder; and the whole were under a necessity of falling back to Trenton. Colonel Raille, having by this time got the rest of his brigade under arms, was, with the most undaunted courage, advancing at their head, with six pieces of artillery, against the rebels, and an action soon took place; at the beginning of which, he had the misfortune to be mortally wounded. Owing to the disaster that befel their commander, the Hessians fell into disorder, were forced to abandon their cannon, and made an ineffectual attempt to retreat to Princetown: but by this time the rebel troops having nearly surrounded them, the regiments of Raille, Losberg, and Knyphausen, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war; the whole, including officers, amounting to nine hundred men. The chasseurs, light dragoons, and a considerable number of private men, with a few others, effected their escape at the opposite side of the town. Some troops who were foraging in the country also escaped. The two other attacks, that were designed to be made on the British cantonments situated lower down the Delaware, from some unforeseen accident, did not take place; and General Washington, aware that a great force would immediately be sent against him, very prudently recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners the evening of the action. The loss which Colonel Raille's corps sustained in killed and wounded, on this occasion, did not exceed fifty men. The prisoners were conducted to Philadelphia, into which they were marched in triumph. A fight so novel and unexpected, failed not to raise the spirits of all the adherents to the American cause, who were highly gratified in beholding as their prisoners Hessian soldiers, whom they had hitherto regarded with terror.

To despise an enemy too frequently leads to fatal consequences; and to this cause may be imputed the disaster which befel the brave but unfortunate Raille at Trenton. He trusted

to the use of the bayonet, at which the enemy's troops were supposed to be inexpert; but he was overpowered by numbers. Had he kept within his cantonments in conformity to his orders, the enemy might have found it very difficult to have forced his post. On the part of General Washington this must ever be regarded as one of the first military exploits. Posterity will scarcely believe, that in the depth of winter, with a military force supposed to be in a great measure annihilated, and a broad river to cross, he could have so completely surprised such a large body of regular and well-disciplined troops, who, not many days prior to their defeat, had beheld him and his army flying before them. This bold stroke totally changed the face of affairs in America: for notwithstanding the strength of the British army, the cause of the mother-country could never again be restored to the favourable situation, in which it stood before the unhappy surprise at Trenton. The report of the defeat of the Hessians soon reached General Grant at Brunswick. He immediately gave orders for assembling the British forces and advancing to Princetown, where he was speedily joined by Lord Cornwallis from New York; who, on hearing of the surprise at Trenton, had postponed his intended voyage to England, and hastened back to the Jerseys. By this time General Washington had received such considerable reinforcements, that he once more crossed the Delaware with his army, and took a most advantageous position at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis having carefully reconnoitred his camp, saw that it was so strong, so well fortified, and his cannon so judiciously placed, that any immediate attempt to dislodge him would be hazardous and inexpedient. After cannonading him for a few hours, he therefore took post with his troops in the neighbourhood.

On the morning of the 3d of January, General Washington gave Lord Cornwallis the slip. Having, to prevent any suspicion of his design, ordered the fires to be kept up in his camp, and his patrols to go about as usual, he marched with his army a little after midnight, in hopes of surprising a brigade of the King's forces cantoned at Princetown. To avoid falling

in with Lord Cornwallis's post at Maidenhead, which lay in the direct road to Princetown, he took a circuitous course: and soon after day-break, met the very brigade which he had intended to surprise. It consisted of the 17th, 40th, and 55th regiments, and had just commenced its march by the way of Maidenhead to join his Lordship. The morning was foggy, when Lieutenant-Colonel Mawhood, at the head of the 17th regiment in the van of these troops, encountered the enemy's army. Imagining that he had met only a small detachment, he immediately attacked them with the greatest bravery: but having soon discovered his mistake, with the most determined resolution he charged them with fixed bayonets, forced his way through the part of their army opposed to his regiment, and made good his progress to Maidenhead. In this gallant achievement he sustained a very considerable loss in killed and wounded. Among the former was the Honourable Captain William Leslie, son to the Earl of Leven, a most promising young man, much lamented by the whole army. The bravery and abilities displayed by Colonel Mawhood, on this occasion, deservedly gained him the highest applause. This vigorous attack on the enemy so completely occupied the whole of their army, as to afford the other two regiments an opportunity of effecting their retreat, by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick, with much less loss than might have been expected. In this rencounter the enemy had a great many men killed and wounded. Among the former was one of their best officers, a Brigadier-General Mercer, from Virginia.†

This spirited exertion of General Washington's obliged Lord Cornwallis to follow him; and showed the expediency of withdrawing the British troops from all their posts on the banks of the Delaware, and of arranging them in new cantonments less distant, that they might be able readily to support one another if attacked. As the King's magazines at Brunswick were apprehended to be in danger, Lord Cornwallis and his corps marched with the utmost expedition to protect them. But

General

† See Note 52.

General Washington wishing to avoid a general action, to which he was convinced the troops under his command were very unequal, instead of marching to Brunswick, crossed the Millstone river, spread his army over the Jerseys, and took post at Newark, (where he fixed his head-quarters,) and at Elizabethtown and Woodbridge; thus commanding the coast opposite to Staten Island. In these towns he established his army during the remainder of the winter. So alert were his troops, that they could not be surprised: and so strongly were they posted, that any attempt to dislodge them by force must have been attended with great hazard and loss. Of all the great conquests which his Majesty's troops had made in the Jerseys, Brunswick and Amboy were the only two places of any note, which they retained after the action at Princetown; and however brilliant their successes had been in the beginning of the campaign, they reaped little advantage from them when the winter advanced, and the contiguity of so vigilant an enemy forced them to perform the severest duty. His Majesty was so well pleased with the abilities and activity which General Howe had displayed this campaign, that on the 25th of October he conferred upon him the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

When the campaign was over, Earl Percy returned to England on account of his health, as did Lieutenant-General Clinton on private business.

1777.

THE declaration of the Independency of the Thirteen revolted Colonies in North America, which was made by Congress on the 4th of July last, afforded great satisfaction to the states unfriendly to Great Britain. It promised them an opportunity of abridging her power, by cutting off a large extent of her dominions, when they should be disposed to acknowledge the pretensions of her colonists to a free and independent government. Things were not yet sufficiently advanced for the

open avowal of such a measure ; but circumstances strongly indicated, that the period of its accomplishment was fast approaching. In the mean time, with a view of concealing their intentions, the language affected to be spoken by the Courts of France and Spain was friendly in a high degree. But the great naval preparations, which were carrying on at all the principal ports of both of these kingdoms, led to strong suspicions that their professions were insincere. It was notorious, that the ports of both had become asylums to the American privateers ; and that they were crowded with British prizes, which were sold without any colour of disguise: till, on remonstrances being made by his Majesty's Ministers, a little more decorum was observed, and some check apparently given to these practices. The same transactions, however, were still clandestinely continued. The British Ministry, being extremely averse to increase the number of national enemies during this unhappy civil contention, judged it expedient, as well as prudent, for a while to abstain from asserting the dignity of their country, and quietly submitted to the partiality manifested by France and Spain to her revolted subjects, which in better circumstances they would not have tolerated. In the West Indies, where the privateers fitted out by the revolted colonists were most successful in their depredations, they were openly protected in all the French islands : and even French ships took American commissions, and with few and sometimes no American seamen on board, carried on with impunity, a war against the British commerce.

The Parliament was early assembled. It met the 31st of October, 1776, when the King made the following speech to both Houses :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ Nothing could have afforded me so much satisfaction as to
 “ have been able to inform you, at the opening of this session,
 “ that the troubles, which have so long distracted my colonies
 “ in North America, were at an end ; and that my unhappy
 “ people,

“ people, recovered from their delusion, had delivered themselves from the oppression of their leaders, and returned to their duty : but so daring and desperate is the spirit of those leaders, whose object has always been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with this country : they have rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the authority of our commission ; and have presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states. If their treason be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it, to the safety of my loyal colonies, to the commerce of my kingdoms, and indeed to the present system of all Europe. One great advantage, however, will be derived from the object of the rebels being openly avowed, and clearly understood ; we shall have unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the justice and necessity of our measures.

“ I am happy to inform you, that, by the blessing of Divine Providence on the good conduct and valour of my officers and forces by sea and land, and on the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in my service, Canada is recovered ; and although, from unavoidable delays, the operations at New York could not begin before the month of August, the success in that province has been so important as to give the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences : but notwithstanding this fair prospect, we must, at all events, prepare for another campaign.

“ I continue to receive assurances of amity from the several courts in Europe ; and am using my utmost endeavours to conciliate the unhappy difference between two neighbouring powers ; and I still hope, that all misunderstandings may be removed, and Europe continue to enjoy the inestimable blessings of peace : I think nevertheless, that, in the present situation of affairs, it is expedient that we should be in a respectable state of defence at home.”

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I will order the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. It is a matter of real concern to me, that the important considerations which I have stated to you must necessarily be followed by great expence : I doubt not, however, but that my faithful Commons will readily and cheerfully grant me such supplies, as the maintenance of the honour of my Crown, the vindication of the just rights of Parliament, and the public welfare shall be found to require.”

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ In this arduous contest I can have no other object but to promote the true interests of all my subjects. No people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than those now revolted provinces : the improvements in every art, of which they boast, declare it : their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother-country, are irrefragable proofs of it. My desire is to restore to them the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.”

Administration appeared to stand on sure ground. As the motions for the addresses on his Majesty's speech from the throne, and indeed all the principal motions in both Houses throughout the session of Parliament, had been decided by considerable majorities in their favour, they had no doubt, but that the plans they should propose for carrying on the war, or for conciliating peace with the revolted colonies in North America, would be adopted. The sum total voted by the Commons this session, amounted to 12,895,543l.*

The immense depredations of the enemy's cruizers greatly alarmed the trading part of the nation. The value of the cap-

tures

* See Note 53.

tures which they had already made, was estimated at the enormous sum of one million sterling. To afford proper protection to commerce, sixteen sail of the line, and a great many frigates and sloops, were therefore put in commission: and on the 6th of February a bill was passed, empowering the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty to grant commissions, and letters of marque and reprisal, to the owners or masters of private ships, and authorising them to take and make prizes of all vessels, having on board goods or effects belonging to any of the thirteen revolted American colonies.

An attempt was made in Parliament, by that illustrious patriot and statesman the Earl of Chatham, to effect a reconciliation between the Mother-country and her North American Colonies. His motion contained a proposal for making a reasonable concession on the part of Britain, which might conciliate the affections of the revolted Americans, and dispose them to return to their allegiance. This measure he pressed upon the House, from the critical situation in which he beheld his country. He painted her in the most glowing colours, as tottering on the brink of ruin; and averred, that the present was the only moment that remained, for preventing an intended union between our American colonies and our natural enemies. He predicted, that as soon as our rapidly declining strength was sufficiently weakened, such a junction would be effected, and that it would be productive of consequences fatal to the prosperity and safety of the British Empire. Happily, in this particular, his prediction has not been verified: but it was on a different footing that the Ministry opposed his motion. They contraverted every assertion he had made with respect to the state of the American colonies and of Europe; but experience soon showed, that in this contest they had been uniformly in the wrong. Their opinions however, or rather their influence, prevailed: and the proposed plan of conciliation was rejected in the House of Peers, by a majority of ninety-nine, including twenty-three proxies, against twenty-eight, including two proxies.

The

The plan formed by Administration, for the ensuing campaign in North America, appears to have been, to make at the same time three grand attacks on the revolted colonies, with very considerable and well appointed armies. By these means, it was hoped, that the enemy's force would be so divided, as to render it unable to resist the King's troops with effect. The first of these attacks was to be conducted by General Howe, who, with a great part of the army under his command, was directed to proceed from New York, and endeavour to gain possession of the city of Philadelphia. The fleet under Lord Howe was ordered to assist him in this expedition, and to prevent the northern from sending any succour by sea to the southern colonies. The second army was to march from Canada, under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne; and by means of Lake Champlain and Lake George, and the Hudson's river, to penetrate to Albany: after which, if it should receive orders to that effect, it was to form a junction with the Commander in Chief. To make a diversion in favour of this armament, to second its operations, and to distract the enemy's attention as much as possible, General Clinton, who was to be left at New York with a third army, was to send up the North or Hudson's river a strong detachment, to attack the enemy's settlements on its banks, to oblige them to detach forces to oppose its progress, and if possible to form a junction with General Burgoyne. Lord Howe was to leave a considerable detachment of his fleet at New York, the commander of which had instructions to assist General Clinton in the excursions he should make up North River.

It is but doing justice to his Majesty's Ministry to acknowledge, that they were very assiduous in taking every measure that could ensure success to their plans. Unfortunately, however, the fleets with the reinforcements of recruits, and the necessary stores of every kind, were long detained in England by contrary winds. Few alterations were made in the different naval commands. Commodore Sir Edward Vernon was sent out, in the Rippon, to take upon him the command of his Majesty's

Majesty's ships and vessels in the East Indies.* On the 28th of April, in pursuance of his Majesty's order, the following promotion of flag-officers took place, viz. Rear-Admirals of the Blue, the Honourable John Byron, and Augustus John Earl of Bristol, to be Rear-Admirals of the White; and Captains George Mackenzie, Matthew Barton, Esqrs. and Sir Peter Parker, Knt. were promoted to be Rear-Admirals of the Blue.

Lieutenant-General Clinton having come home on his private affairs in the beginning of last winter, his Majesty, in token of his approbation of his services, was pleased, on the 11th of April, to invest him with the Military Order of the Bath, previous to his return to North America. On his voyage thither, he was accompanied by Major-General Charles Grey.

NORTH AMERICA.

THE detail of naval and military operations in North America this campaign, will commence with the proceedings of the northern army under General Burgoyne, until it had advanced across Lake George. When the severity of the weather had put a stop to the military operations on the frontiers of Canada last year, General Burgoyne returned to England to concert measures with his Majesty's Ministers, and to lay before them a plan he had projected for the Canadian army during the present campaign. This army was accordingly put entirely under his orders: and as soon as the season would permit, he embarked on board his Majesty's ship *Apollo*, and arrived at Quebec the 6th of May. The same day, a fleet of transports, with stores and recruits for his army, also reached that place. The General immediately repaired to Montreal, and took the command of the army, which he afterwards divided into three unequal bodies.† One of these, under Sir Guy Carleton, was allotted to the defence of the province. The largest part was to act under himself. The third and smallest, consisting of detachments from different corps, some provincial troops, and some

* See Note 54.

† See Note 55.

some tribes of Indians under Sir John Johnson, was put under the command of Colonel Barry St. Leger, who was appointed to act as a Brigadier-General. This officer was ordered to proceed, with his motley corps, up the river St. Lawrence and across Lake Ontario to Oswego; from thence, by Wood creek and the Mohawk river, to endeavour to make himself master of Fort Stanwix, and to penetrate by Schenectady to Albany. General Burgoyne's design in planning this expedition was, that by attacking the enemy and obliging them in self-defence to remain at home, it might prevent them from obstructing his progress, by detaching against him the militia of a large tract of country.

By the great foresight of Governor Sir Guy Carleton and Sir Charles Douglas of the navy, such ample means were provided for escorting the army across the Lakes, that as soon as the necessary arrangements were made, General Burgoyne found it an easy matter to embark his troops at Cumberland Point, and proceed over Lake Champlain. In this expedition, he was well seconded by Captain Lutwidge of the *Triton*, who was appointed to take the command of all his Majesty's ships and vessels on the Lakes.* Having disembarked his men at Crown Point, he remained there a few days, making the necessary preparations for moving against Ticonderago, where the enemy were posted in great force. That he understood his instructions, to effect a junction with Sir William Howe, not to be discretionary but peremptory, is evident from the following extract from the orders he gave his army at Crown Point, June 30th: "The army embarks to-morrow to approach the enemy. The services required of this particular expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress occasions may occur, in which nor difficulty, nor labour, nor life, are to be regarded. This army must not retreat." The actual strength of his army amounted to eight thousand seven hundred and seventy-three men; his park of artillery consisted of ten pieces, viz. two light twenty-four pounders, four medium
twelve

* See Note 56.

twelve pounders, two eight inch howitzers, and two royal howitzers. The field train, that accompanied the army, consisted of four medium twelve pounders, two light twenty-four pounders,* eighteen light six pounders, six light three pounders, two eight inch howitzers, four five and a half inch howitzers, two eight inch mortars, and four royals. A much larger train of artillery was intended to have gone along with it, but from the impossibility of transporting them, they were otherwise disposed of.† When the enemy learned that the British armament was approaching, convinced that their force on Lake Champlain was unable to contend with his Majesty's fleet, they retired to Ticonderago. General Burgoyne accordingly met with no opposition; and after a pleasant voyage landed at Crown Point, where he halted three days, to bring up the rear of the army, to establish magazines and the hospital, to obtain intelligence of the enemy, and to make all the necessary arrangements. On the 30th of June, he ordered the advanced corps, consisting of the British light-infantry and grenadiers, the 24th regiment, some Canadians and savages, and ten pieces of light artillery, under the command of Brigadier-General Frazer, to move from Putnam creek, where they had been encamped some days, up the west shore of the Lake to Four-mile Point, so called from being within that distance of the fort of Ticonderago. The German reserve, composed of the Brunswick chasseurs, light-infantry, and grenadiers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, were at the same time advanced upon the east shore. On the 1st of July, the whole army made a movement towards Ticonderago, the right wing going up the western shore, and the left wing keeping pace with it by the eastern shore. Brigadier Frazer's corps occupied the strong post called Three-mile Point on the west shore; the right wing of the army encamping at Four-mile Point on the west; and the left on the opposite shore. The Royal George and Inflexible frigates, with

* The light twenty-four pounders were of a construction lighter by eight hundred weight than medium twelves, and to all intents and purposes field-artillery. Vide General Burgoyne's Narrative, page 14.

† See Note 57.

with the gun-boats, were anchored just without the reach of the enemy's batteries. The rest of the fleet had been for some time without their guns, that they might assist in carrying provisions across Lake Champlain.

The General had now an opportunity of reconnoitring the position of the rebels, and observed them posted in the following manner. A brigade occupied the old French lines, upon the height northward of the fort of Ticonderago. These lines were in good repair, and had several intrenchments behind them, calculated chiefly to guard the N. W. flank, which was sustained by a blockhouse. About a mile to the west of these works, they had saw-mills protected by a blockhouse : and at the entrance of Lake George there was another blockhouse, near to which was an hospital, upon the right of the French lines, and between them and the old fort were two new blockhouses, and a considerable battery close to the water's side.

The insurgents had bestowed great attention on Mount Independence, and had established a very strong post there. The Mount is high and circular ; and upon the summit, which is plain, they had erected a star fort made with pickets, and well supplied with artillery, having a large square of barracks within it. On the foot of the Mount, which projects considerably into the water, they had a strong intrenchment, on which were mounted some heavy artillery pointing down the Lake, flanking the battery above-mentioned, and sustained by another battery about half-way up the Mount. This remarkable hill is directly opposite to and higher than that on which the fort of Ticonderago is built. It is situated on a point, having on the west side the river flowing from Lake George ; on the east Wood creek, which leads to Skenesborough ; and in its front, or north side, the river which connects Lakes George and Champlain. Between this post and Ticonderago was a large and strong wooden bridge of communication, which was supported by twenty-two sunken piers of large timber, at nearly equal distances. The spaces between them were filled by separate floats, each about fifty feet long and twelve feet wide, strongly

strongly fastened together by chains and rivets, and also fixed to the sunken piers. Before this bridge was a boom, made of very large pieces of round timber, bound together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and a half square. The south side of the Mount is remarkably steep: and the height of Ticonderago concealed the bridge.

On the second of July, about nine in the morning, a smoke was observed towards Lake George: and the Indians brought in a report, that the enemy had set fire to their farther block-house and abandoned the saw-mills; and that a considerable body of their troops were seen advancing from their lines, towards a bridge upon the road which led to the right of the British camp. A detachment of the advanced corps, under Brigadier Frazer, supported by a brigade from the line and some artillery, under the command of Major-General Phillips, were ordered to march immediately towards Mount Hope, which lies to the north of the lines, to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and to take advantage of any post which they might abandon, or from which they might be driven.

The Indians under Captain Frazer, supported by his company of marksmen, were directed to make a circuit to the left of Brigadier Frazer's line of march, and to endeavour to cut off the retreat of the enemy. Through the impetuosity of the savages, this design miscarried. They began too soon to attack the enemy in front, by which means they had time to make good their retreat, with very little loss. Major-General Phillips took post, with the troops under his command, on Mount Hope, and thereby cut off the Americans from all communication with Lake George.

On the 3d of July, that Mount was occupied by the corps under the command of Brigadier Frazer, which was reinforced with the first brigade of British, and two entire brigades of artillery; the several corps were pushed on so as to invest the post of Ticonderago: Major-General Reidesfel advanced on the east to Three-mile Point, and the reserve of his corps took post near a rivulet, on the east side of Mount Independence. The enemy

enemy cannonaded the camp on Mount Hope, and that of the German reserve, most part of the day; but without doing them any material injury.

On the 4th, the army worked hard in completing their communications, and in bringing up artillery, tents, baggage, and provisions. During these operations, the enemy kept up a furious cannonade, by which they expended a great deal of ammunition to no purpose: and to which no return was made. The Thunderer radeau, with the battering train and stores, arrived this day, having been warped up from Crown Point; and the landing of the artillery immediately commenced.

Lieutenant Twiss, the commanding engineer, having been ordered to reconnoitre Sugar Hill, which is situated to the south-west of the fort of Ticonderago, reported, that it had the entire command of the works and buildings, both of that Fort and of Mount Independence; that the ground might be levelled so as to receive cannon; and that a road to convey them, though difficult, might be made practicable in twenty-four hours. This hill also commanded in reverse the bridge of communication, and afforded so complete a view of the enemy's vessels and situation, that during the day they could make no material movement or preparation undiscovered, and that even their numbers might be counted. The importance of this post had not been overlooked by the enemy, who had held a council upon the expediency of possessing it; but relinquished the design from an idea, that to establish a corps in force upon it was impracticable. General Burgoyne was of a contrary opinion: and after receiving Lieutenant Twiss's report, he began with all possible expedition to establish a strong post there, and to erect a battery for heavy cannon and eight inch howitzers. With such activity was this arduous work carried on, that in the course of the next day, the battery was ready to open upon the enemy. On observing the rapidity of his advances, their Commander in Chief called a Council of War, who, fearing that their retreat might be cut off, and that they might at last be compelled to surrender at discretion,

adopted

adopted the resolution of abandoning all their works, spiking their cannon, and retiring with all possible speed to their first posts at the south end of Lake George. General Burgoyne had, in the mean time, fixed his quarters on board the *Royal George*, as a central situation equally near to both wings of his army, which were separated by the river that joins that Lake with Lake Champlain. Early in the morning of the 6th, he was informed by an officer sent to him by Brigadier Fraser, that the enemy were retreating, and that he, having left orders with his brigade to follow him as quickly as possible, was advancing with the piquets of his corps to pursue them by land. General Burgoyne, on thus discovering the design of the Americans, took immediate possession of Ticonderago, and caused the British colours to be displayed on its fort. Reposing entire confidence in the prudence and good conduct of General Fraser, he left that officer to prosecute such measures by land, as he might deem expedient : but, as he had received intelligence, that the enemy had embarked a column of their army on board two hundred and twenty batteaux, and were retiring towards Skenesborough, under the protection of their armed galleys, he determined to pursue them by water.

Commodore Lutwidge, and the officers and men under his command, with their characteristic activity and courage, immediately moved forward with the gun-boats against the enemy's boom, and with great dexterity and dispatch cut one of the intermediate floats. Thus, in an hour and a half, they opened a passage sufficient for the frigates, notwithstanding all the impediments which, with infinite labour, the enemy had constructed to render it impracticable. While these operations were going on, Major-General Reidesel, had passed to Mount Independence with the corps of Breyman and part of the left wing : and was directed to sustain Brigadier-General Fraser, or to act more to the left, as circumstances might require. The sixty-second regiment, and two regiments of Brunswickers, were left at Ticonderago and Mount Independence, in place of detachments of Brigadier-General Fraser's corps, which had

taken possession of these forts and stores when the enemy abandoned them. These, with the rest of the army, were ordered to follow up the river, as they could be collected, without regard to the respective places of their corps in the line.

About three in the afternoon, General Burgoyne, with the Royal George and Inflexible, and the best sailing gun-boats and batteaux, arrived at South Bay, within three miles of Skenesborough; where the enemy were posted in a stocaded fort on the top of a hill, and their armed gallies at the falls below.

The foremost regiments, viz. the ninth, twentieth, and twenty-first, instantly disembarked, and ascended the high hill, with an intention of burning the fort, and cutting off the retreat of the enemy: but their precipitate flight prevented this design from being put into execution. The enemy, having previously prepared combustible materials, had set fire to the fort, mills, storehouses, and batteaux; and the party which performed that service immediately followed the main body of their troops, which had retired when the British regiments began to ascend the hill. A great quantity of provisions, and some arms, were of course consumed; and a large proportion of their officers' baggage was either burnt, destroyed, or taken. The gun-boats and frigates proceeded to Skenesborough falls; where Captain Carter, with part of his brigade of gun-boats, immediately attacked the rebel fleet with such impetuosity, that two of them were soon compelled to strike, and the other three were blown up. The loss which the enemy sustained in the different attacks this day was never exactly known. About thirty prisoners were made, among which were two wounded officers. Brigadier-General Fraser, with his corps and some of the most advanced regiments, continued in pursuit of the enemy's troops on the road to Castleton, till one o'clock; having marched in a hot day from four in the morning. During their march, they picked up a good many stragglers; from whom they learned, that the rear guard of the rebel army was composed of chosen troops, and commanded by a Colonel Francis, who was esteem-

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ed one of their best officers. While the men were refreshing themselves, Major-General Reidesel with a corps of Germans came up : and arrangements having been made for continuing the pursuit, Brigadier Frazer again moved forward with the British. During the night, they lay upon their arms in a very advantageous situation.

Early in the morning of the 7th of July, Brigadier Frazer began his march, and about six o'clock came in sight of the enemy's scouts, who after firing on our troops, retired to their main body. The Brigadier observing a considerable height unoccupied by the enemy, which commanded their left, ordered the light-infantry to take possession of it ; and the enemy perceiving his intention, dispatched a corps with similar orders. Both met near to the summit, when a short action commenced ; but the Americans were soon routed and forced to retire. Near Huberton they were considerably reinforced, and made a stand, forming in excellent order. As soon as Brigadier Frazer reconnoitred this disposition, he attacked them with great judgment and vigour ; but as they were more than double his number, they maintained their ground. Major-General Reidesel, who pressed to come in for a share of the glory of the day, arriving to his assistance, and taking the enemy in flank, they gave way and fled on all sides ; leaving at least two hundred men killed upon the spot. Among these was Colonel Francis, their commander. Major Robert Grant, who commanded the British van guard, was also killed. The enemy had besides, near six hundred men wounded, most of whom perished in the woods for want of assistance ; and one Colonel, seven Captains, ten subalterns, and two hundred and ten men were made prisoners. Their numbers before the action, by report, exceeded two thousand men, strongly posted ; while the corps that Brigadier Frazer was able to bring into the field, did not exceed eight hundred and fifty men. On the same day, (July 7th) reports having been brought to General Burgoyne, by the country people about Skenesborough, that part of the enemy's army were still retreating towards Wood creek, he detached

the 9th regiment to take post near Fort Anne, and to observe their motions. This was effected with much difficulty, the roads being bad and the bridges broken down. The General employed the remainder of the troops he had with him all that day and night, in dragging fifty batteaux over the falls, to facilitate the movement of the rest of the first brigade to dislodge the enemy at Fort Anne.

The day following, (July 8th) the General received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, who commanded the 9th regiment, informing him, that the enemy had been reinforced in the night by a considerable body of fresh troops; and that he would not retire before them with his regiment, but would maintain his ground. He therefore ordered the two remaining regiments of the first brigade, under Brigadier-General Powell, to quicken their march: and upon receiving farther intelligence of the great force of the enemy, he directed the 20th regiment also to advance, and sent Major-General Phillips, with some pieces of artillery, to take the command. Unluckily, a most violent storm of rain, which lasted the whole day, retarded the march of these corps, and prevented them from reaching Fort Anne so soon as was intended. This circumstance afforded the ninth regiment an opportunity of distinguishing itself, by maintaining its ground, and by fighting and repulsing a body of the enemy's troops six times its numbers. Colonel Hill gained great honour by his conduct in this action. The enemy finding, that after repeated attacks they could not force the 9th regiment in front, endeavoured to surround it; and from their great superiority in numbers, much was to be apprehended from this attempt: but the Colonel prevented them from executing their purpose, by changing his ground, with the greatest calmness and bravery, in the very heat of action. The enemy after persevering in the attack for three hours, were totally repulsed with great loss, and fled towards Fort Edward. When they retreated, they set fire to Fort Anne; but left in good repair a saw-mill and blockhouse, which was afterwards possessed by the King's troops. In this action, the 9th regiment

ment took about thirty prisoners, some stores and baggage, and the colours of the Hampshire regiment. The remains of the enemy's army from Ticonderago reassembled from various parts at Fort Edward.

As General Burgoyne's army was much fatigued, many of his troops having wanted provisions, and almost all of them their tents and baggage for two days, he ordered it to halt on the 9th and 10th of July. As soon as they were sufficiently refreshed for resuming their labours, he employed them in opening roads to facilitate their march towards the enemy; and in clearing Wood creek of fallen trees, sunken stones, and other obstacles, that might obstruct the passage of his batteaux, in which he was to convey his artillery, stores, camp equipage, and provisions. The garrison which he had left at Ticonderago was busily occupied in getting gun-boats, batteaux, and provision vessels into Lake George, for the purpose of removing a part of the army, which had been ordered to advance by that route to escort the principal magazines. His intention was to assemble his whole force at Fort Edward.

Wood creek ceases to be navigable at Fort Anne, which lies about seventeen or eighteen miles from Fort Edward. Even this short distance abounds in natural obstructions, to which the assiduity of the enemy had added many artificial impediments. To overcome these, so much preparation, time, toil, patience, and perseverance were necessary, that though the rebels had retired with the principal part of their forces, it cost this very active and victorious army, emulous of enterprise, and in high spirits, the labour of fifteen days to reach their destination. Besides the obstacles of felled trees, which in this woody country were every where at hand to obstruct the road, frequent natural marshes and numerous creeks of water intervened. Before they could pass these, they were obliged to construct forty new bridges, and to repair others. One made of log-work crossed a morass two miles in extent.

At this time, the enemy were much dispirited from the severe checks they had received, and were not in a condition to

give General Burgoyne any material interruption on his march. Perhaps too, they were intimidated by the body of savages which attended the British army. Some little skirmishing frequently happened, in which they were uniformly obliged to retire; but these advantages were not obtained without loss of men to the victorious party.

General Burgoyne had very powerful reasons for preferring this direct but laborious route to Fort Edward, to one which was much more easy though very circuitous. He could, without doubt, have returned down South River from Skenesborough to Ticonderago, embarked his army there on Lake George, rowed to the head of the lake, and landed it near Fort George; a fort erected on the site on which Fort William Henry formerly stood, and from which there is a waggon road to Fort Edward. He objected however to this route, because its length and its retrograde direction might damp the ardour of troops flushed with victory, and in pursuit of a flying enemy; and allow the latter time to recover from their panic, and prepare for resistance. Besides, after the fatigue of a tedious voyage, his troops might be opposed in landing, and perhaps detained by the necessity of besieging Fort George: or if its garrison should perceive them marching directly to Fort Edward, fearing that its retreat would infallibly be cut off, it might abandon its post, and by retiring to that fort, reinforce the enemy.

Every thing happened as General Burgoyne had foreseen. General Schuyler, who commanded the enemy's troops at Fort Edward, where he had been endeavouring to collect the militia, although now joined by General St. Clair with the remains of his army from Ticonderago, upon finding that the British troops were advancing by the way of Fort Anne, thought proper to abandon Fort Edward and retire to Saratoga, which he did about the end of July; Fort George having been previously evacuated, after burning all the vessels they had upon Lake George, by which the navigation of it was left entirely free: and by the time General Burgoyne's army reached Fort Edward, a great embarkation of provisions, stores, and all sorts of necessities,

cessaries, had arrived from Ticonderago at Fort George, at the upper end of the lake, for the use of the King's troops.

From this time, the expedition under the command of General Burgoyne ceases to be a conjunct one, and consequently his future operations do not properly fall within the design of this work. But as its unfortunate conclusion had a very considerable influence on the fate of the American war, the catastrophe which attended it shall be related in its proper place. In the mean time, our attention is called to the opening of the campaign at New York, and to the expeditions which were there undertaken, in the view of seconding General Burgoyne's operations.

NEW YORK.

THE reader was informed, that at the close of last campaign, his Majesty's forces retained but a small part of the Jerseys, Staten and Long Islands, together with the city of New York, York Island, and the islands in its vicinity. During the winter, Sir William Howe was busily employed at New York in forming several provincial corps, which included refugees of all denominations, consisting of Americans, British and Irish, who, for their loyalty, had been obliged to abandon their possessions in America, and to seek protection from the King's forces. These new levies amounted to several thousand men, and were placed, during their temporary service, upon the same footing as to pay, subsistence, and cloathing, with the established regiments in the royal army. As a farther encouragement to the private men and non-commissioned officers, they were, at the end of the war, to be entitled to certain proportions of land, according to the rank which they might then hold. This measure was fraught with sound judgment, and proved of the greatest service to many of his Majesty's faithful subjects. Besides adding a very considerable strength to the royal army, it afforded a present provision to many who had lost their all in this unhappy contest, and gave them a prospect

give General Burgoyne any material interruption. Perhaps too, they were intimidated by the which attended the British army. Some little frequently happened, in which they were retire; but these advantages were not of men to the victorious party.

General Burgoyne had very power this direct but laborious route to was much more easy though very out doubt, have returned down to Ticonderago, embarked, rowed to the head of the a fort erected on the merly flood, and from Edward. He objected and its retrograde flushed with victory the latter time assistance. But favourable, against the enemy posted at troops near Lieutenant-General Clinton having gone to the near Earl Percy, during the winter, commanded the perceive at Rhode Island, which consisted of one troop of the its regular light dragoons, one brigade of British, and two of ar Medians; but as he also returned to Britain before the opening of the campaign, this command devolved on Major-General Prescott, who served under him.

While both armies remained in winter-quarters, there were frequent skirmishes between the foraging parties of the rebels, and the detachments employed in escorting provisions to the King's troops cantoned in the Jerseys. In these rencounters, the former were generally defeated. One of them deserves to be particularly mentioned. A party of the forty-second regiment, which was escorting some forage waggons from Brunswick, was attacked by a great number of the rebels: Sir William Erskine marched a detachment to their relief, and taking a position which placed the Americans between two fires, obliged

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to retreat in great confusion, leaving between
 hundred dead upon the spot. A considerable
 regiments having appeared on the heights above
 Sandy Hook, Major Gordon, with two
 behind them, attacked and defeated them ;
 seventy-four prisoners. This check
 that part of the county of Mon-
 tgomery occupied.

The side of New York collected
 her from that district, and
 marched with these to-
 wards being able to overrun the
 confident were their expectations of
 provided empty waggons to carry off the
 they appeared before Fort Independence,
 summons to the Commandant to surrender ; but he
 refused to comply with it, and ordered his cannon to be fired
 upon them. On observing soon after this, that General Knyp-
 hausen, who commanded at that end of the island, was as-
 sembling his troops to attack them, they fled with precipita-
 tion and dispersed.

The rebels were busy during the winter in erecting mills and
 collecting magazines, both of which they were careful to place
 as far as possible, out of the reach of his Majesty's sea and land-
 forces. Some of their principal magazines were formed in a
 very mountainous tract of country, called the Manor of Court-
 land, about fifty miles up the North River from New York,
 and not far from a place called Peck's-kill, where they had con-
 structed barracks, large storehouses, and also a wharf, at
 which they landed whatever they found necessary to bring
 down the river. The magazines at this place and its vicinity
 were represented to Sir William Howe to be of such magni-
 tude, as to justify him in sending a great force against them ;
 but he considered, that before such force could be got in readi-
 ness to proceed, the rebels would have notice of his design,
 and either remove the stores beyond his reach, or reinforce
 their

their post so strongly as to make him pay too dear for his success. He therefore determined to attempt Peek's-kill by surprise; and for this purpose, ordered a detachment of five hundred men from the line to embark in transports, giving the command of them to Lieutenant-Colonel Bird of the fifteenth regiment. Lord Howe sent along with them Captain Ferguson, in the Brune frigate, attended by the Dependence and another galley, properly fitted for the occasion. They sailed from New York on the 22d of March, and arrived off Peek's-kill the 23d. The insurgents supposed the force under Colonel Bird to be much greater than it really was; and as soon as they saw him preparing to disembark, retired about two miles into the mountains, to a strong pass which commanded the road that led to some of their mills and principal magazines. Not having sufficient time, before their retreat, to remove their stores, they set fire to their barracks and storehouses, and thereby rendered useless the only wharf at which any effects could be shipped. The troops accordingly landed without opposition; and the Colonel finding it impossible to bring off any part of the enemy's magazines, increased the conflagration, by which all the storehouses, with their contents, and a large pile of barracks, were completely consumed.* Considering the enemy's mills and deposits as beyond his reach, as soon as this service was performed, he re-embarked the troops; and after destroying several small craft laden with provisions, returned to New York.

The activity and courage displayed on this exploit, did great credit to Lieutenant-Colonel Bird and Captain Ferguson. Its effects however fell far short of General Howe's expectations. He had been led to believe the enemy's magazines to be of much greater magnitude than they really were, and therefore to entertain hopes of materially impairing, by this blow, their resources for the approaching campaign. On discovering his mistake, he resolved to make another effort to destroy the magazines, which by the best information he could procure, the rebels

* See Note 58.

rebels had established at the town of Danbury, and other places on the borders of Connecticut contiguous to Courtland Manor. An expedition was accordingly set on foot; the plan of which was said to have been devised by Governor Tryon. He was sanguine in his hopes, that this plan would not only secure all the advantages arising from the destruction of the enemy's magazines, but also afford to the loyal inhabitants of the country, who were held in restraint by the superiority of the rebel forces, an opportunity of joining the King's troops. Sir William Howe therefore conferred on him the command of the land-forces, and put under him two active and able officers, Brigadier-Generals Agnew and Sir William Erskine. The military destined for this service, consisted of detachments from the 4th, 15th, 23d, 27th, 44th, and 64th regiments, the Prince of Wales's American Volunteers, a provincial corps commanded by Colonel Brown, about a dozen of men belonging to the 17th regiment of light dragoons, and a detachment from the regiment of artillery, having with them six field-pieces. The conduct of the naval department of this enterprise was assigned to Captain Duncan, of his Majesty's ship *Eagle*, who had under him the *Senegal* and *Swan* sloops of war, and other small craft proper for such a service.

The troops being embarked in transports, sailed from New York, passed through the Sound, and on the evening of the 25th of April arrived off Norwalk, a town in the province of Connecticut, about twenty miles south of Danbury. As they were quite unexpected, they immediately landed without opposition; and by ten o'clock that night began their march for Danbury, which they reached next day about two o'clock in the afternoon. The few rebel troops that were in the place fled on the approach of the King's forces, and gave the alarm to the country people, who immediately took to arms. General Tryon being informed, that it was the enemy's intention to endeavour to cut off his retreat on his return to Norwalk, made all possible dispatch in obeying his orders: and as no carriages could be procured to bring off any part of the magazines which the

insurgents

insurgents had formed at Danbury, he was under a necessity of setting them on fire. In the progress of the flames, the town was unavoidably burnt. Early on the 27th, the detachment was put in motion, and took the road for Ridgefield. While the General was executing his orders at Danbury, the enemy's Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, having hastily arrived from different quarters, exerted themselves to collect all the militia of the neighbouring districts, and took every measure that so short a time allowed, to interrupt and retard the march of the King's forces, until a sufficient number of rebel troops should arrive, to support them in the design they had formed of cutting off their retreat. The first of these officers hung upon the rear of the detachment; while General Arnold, by making a little circuit and crossing the country, gained their front, and actually posted himself in the village of Ridgefield. The British troops however continued their march, although at every eminence they found a corps of the rebel militia to oppose them. These they always defeated, though not without encountering violent opposition. In one of these skirmishes, General Wooster was mortally wounded; exhibiting a display of youthful valour at the age of seventy. The detachment approached Ridgefield about noon: but General Arnold, who had arrived there about an hour before them, had his men busily employed in throwing up intrenchments to cover his front. General Tryon lost no time in attacking them with his field-pieces, which did considerable execution, as their newly thrown up works, unable to withstand the effects of cannon, yielded them little protection. The troops rushing on, the rebels were forced to give way. General Arnold in this action displayed the greatest courage. His horse was shot under him, within a short space of the foremost of the British ranks; but disengaging himself with great dexterity, he drew a pistol and shot dead the soldier who was running to plunge his bayonet into his body, and followed his troops who had been compelled to retire.

General Tryon remained at the village of Ridgefield during
the

the night, and resumed his march early next morning. The enemy who, in the mean time, had been considerably reinforced with troops and some field-pieces, harrassed his detachment exceedingly on its march. When at last, after a number of skirmishes, they reached the Hill of Compo, contiguous to the place of embarkation, the rebels with more determined spirit than ever attacked the King's troops; who, facing about, gave them a most severe fire, which they followed up by charging with the bayonet. This had the desired effect: the enemy, who suffered much, were unable to withstand this shock, retired, and left the troops to embark without farther molestation.

The King's forces were much exhausted by so long a march: and, although they had carried along with them sixty rounds of powder and ball, their ammunition was nearly expended. Their loss, however, was not so great as might have been expected, considering the length of their march, and their frequent combats, with constantly increasing numbers, during all its progress. In these conflicts the enemy had one General, three Colonels, a great many inferior officers and foldiers killed, and a proportional number wounded.* And the loss they sustained by the destruction of their military stores, could not fail of being very sensibly felt.

Soon after the return of the troops from this expedition, the rebels had learned that the British Commissaries had been for sometime employed at the east end of Long Island, in procuring forage, grain, and other necessaries, for the use of the army at New York; that the greatest part of these had been put on board of small vessels lying in Saggs harbour; and that there was only a guard of one hundred foldiers at the place, and an armed schooner of twelve guns to protect the harbour. Considering the practicability of destroying a magazine so weakly defended, General Parsons, who commanded their forces at Newhaven in Connecticut, ordered a detachment of two hundred men to attack it: and gave the command of them to Lieutenant-Colonel Meigs, an officer of merit, who, last year, had
signalized

* See Note 59.

signalized himself in General Arnold's expedition against Quebec. About one o'clock in the afternoon of the 3d of May, the Colonel with his party embarked at Guildford in eleven whale-boats; and at the same hour of the following morning, landed about three miles from Sagg harbour. Having made the proper dispositions for attacking in five different places, he marched forward with the greatest order and silence, till he was within twenty yards of the King's troops. He then directed some of his men to advance with fixed bayonets, upon the different barracks, guards, and quarters of the soldiers, while the rest took possession of the brigs, sloops, and other vessels lying at the wharf. The alarm soon became general, and an incessant fire of grape and round shot was kept up for an hour, by the armed schooner of twelve guns, which lay within one hundred and fifty yards of the wharfs.

So complete was the surprise, that notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the schooner, his party burnt all the vessels at the wharfs, killed or made prisoners all the men belonging to them, destroyed about one hundred tons of hay, large quantities of grain, and ten hogheads of rum, besides other goods; and made prisoners all the soldiers stationed in the place. With such dispatch did Colonel Meigs perform this service, that he returned to Newhaven with his detachment and ninety prisoners, by two o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th of May.

Though the season was now arrived when the army should take the field, Sir William Howe was unable to commence his military operations, for want of tents and field equipage. All that he could attempt was, to encamp the corps under the command of Lord Cornwallis in the Jerseys, on both sides of the Rariton, on the hills near Brunswick, which commanded that river and its communication with Amboy. In this encampment, they were obliged to have recourse to the hard expedient of using their old tents.

This delay proved of great advantage to the Americans. The different states had been unable to furnish the respective quotas of men and arms, which Congress had appointed them to raise; and

and many of the militia, who had principally carried on the operations of the winter, had returned home ; their time of service being expired. Others, indeed, more generous, or more sanguine in the common cause, being informed of the danger to which their army would be exposed, if they should all take their departure before the arrival of the expected reinforcements, still remained with General Washington and the other commanders. About this time, the rebels began to feel the good effects of having sent Dr. Franklin to France. He arrived at Nantz in December, and immediately negociated with some of the most wealthy merchants there, on terms very advantageous to them, for a supply of arms, cloathing, and military stores of all sorts ; and knowing that the revolted colonies were in the greatest distress for want of arms, he sent them a large ship, which, early in the month of March, arrived at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, with three hundred and sixty-four chests, containing about twelve thousand stand of arms. She brought them also, a thousand barrels of gunpowder, eleven thousand gun-flints, forty-eight bales of woollens, and a small quantity of handkerchiefs, cottons, linens, and other articles. Nor was this the only piece of good fortune attending the cause of the disaffected. The southern colonies were in almost as much distress for want of arms as the northern ones ; and in the most critical time, another vessel arrived from Nantz, having on board for their use, ten thousand stand of small arms, and other military stores. These seasonable supplies enabled the different provinces to arm what men they had raised, and to march them to join General Washington. Having received these reinforcements, he thought himself strong enough to leave Morristown about the end of May. Accordingly advancing within a few miles of Brunswick, he took possession of the hilly country about Middle-brook. The strength of his position was more formidable than his numbers ; for, including the corps under the command of Major-General Sullivan, (who lay at a small distance from him), his corps of artillery, and one hundred and eight cavalry, his army on the
ninth

ninth of June, amounted to no more than seven thousand two hundred and seventy-one men. There is little wonder that with so small a force his Generals, at a Council of War held at this time, resolved to act entirely on the defensive.

For a considerable time, the reinforcements of men to the enemy's army came in very slowly, especially from the northern colonies, who were then under great apprehensions of an invasion from Canada, and uncertain where the blow would fall. Albany, Rhode Island, and Boston, were full of terrors. The last had peculiar cause of alarm, because its port was full of British prizes, which alone rendered it an object of importance; and the detestation and abhorrence of the mother-country was levelled principally against its inhabitants, as the chief leaders in the revolt of the colonies.

As the season advanced, the horrors of a winter's campaign were forgotten; the levies which the rebels were making went on briskly, and their army in the Jerseys daily increased in numbers, the men regarding the hardships which military services in winter always bring along with them, as evils at a distance are commonly viewed.

It was the 13th of June before Sir William Howe was enabled, by the arrival of the storeships and recruits, to take the field with his army. After leaving a strong garrison in New York, he encamped his troops in view of the enemy. Day after day, accompanied by his best officers, he explored the situation of the rebel army, and the different posts they occupied: but he found them so well intrenched, and all the avenues leading to them so strongly defended by a numerous artillery, that to make a direct attack upon them, was an enterprise of too much difficulty to be hazarded. On the one hand, the loss attending it must be very great, and its success uncertain; while, on the other, the loss which the enemy might sustain could be but very trifling: their retreat was secure and easy, to a country still stronger than that which they now occupied, and Generals Gates, Arnold, and Parsons, were on
the

the banks of the North River with a considerable body of troops, ready to cross over to the assistance of General Washington in case of need.

In vain did Sir William Howe use all his endeavours to draw the Commander in Chief of the enemy's army from his strong hold; but he was too sensible of its advantage to be allured from it, whilst the British army continued in his neighbourhood. The season was now advancing very fast: and either something must be done here, or another plan must be tried to obtain possession of the city of Philadelphia. Sir William therefore determined to feign a retreat; and executed this device with such apparent precipitation, as might have deceived a greater adept in the art of war than his opponent. On the 22d of June, he caused the whole of his army to retire towards Amboy. This movement produced the effects for which the General so anxiously wished. His army was immediately pursued by large bodies of the enemy, under the command of Generals Maxwell, Lord Stirling, and Monsieur Conway. The latter had been a Colonel in the Irish Brigade, who, with many more in the French service, had come to take an active part against Great Britain in the American contest.

When at Amboy, Sir William Howe, by prosecuting measures preparatory to his embarkation for Philadelphia, which was not foreseen or suspected by the enemy, completely misled General Washington. He ordered the bridge which was prepared for his crossing the Delaware, to be thrown over the channel that separates the continent from Staten Island. The heavy baggage and all the incumbrances of his army were passed over to the island, escorted by some troops; every preparation was making for the passage of the rest of the army, and the General had gone to New York. Intelligence of all these proceedings was soon conveyed to General Washington; who, after judging from appearances, and weighing every circumstance, was convinced that the retreat of the British army was real and not pretended, and that it must have proceeded from an idea of the superiority of the American forces. This imagination, with

other concurrent circumstances, served for a while as a blind to Mr. Washington's usual penetration, made him lay aside the caution with which he commonly acted, and led him to believe, that when he gave orders to his troops to quit the hilly country, he was pursuing a flying enemy. Desirous of being nearer his advanced corps to succour them in case of need, he quitted his stronghold, and took post near to Quibble town.

The British General now thought he had nearly gained his point, and therefore determined to endeavour to get between General Washington and the mountains, and if possible, to force him to a general action on his own terms. If he should retreat, he would then try to cut off some of his principal detachments, and be at hand to take advantage of whatever might occur. He accordingly returned immediately to Amboy; and on the 26th of June put his army in motion, advancing towards the enemy. The column led by Lord Cornwallis was ordered to take a considerable circuit to the right, and by turning the enemy's left, to obtain possession of some passes in the mountains, which, by their situation and command of ground, would have reduced the rebels to a necessity of abandoning that strong camp, which had hitherto afforded them so great security. His Lordship having dispersed smaller advanced parties of the enemy, fell in at last with the corps commanded by Lord Stirling, consisting of near three thousand men, strongly posted in a woody country, and covered by some artillery, very judiciously disposed. This corps lay directly in his way, and seemed determined to maintain its ground. Lord Cornwallis therefore instantly made a disposition of his troops for attacking it. In advancing to action, there arose such an emulation between the British and Hessian soldiers, that all the obstacles which had been thrown in their way immediately yielded to their impetuosity. Unable to withstand the shock, the enemy were routed on all sides, their cannon taken, and a great many of their men killed, and left on the field. They were pursued as far as Westfield; but the thickness of the woods and the intense heat of the day, rendered the pursuit of little avail.

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In the mean time, General Washington having received information of the routes which the British army had taken, and of the fate of the corps under Lord Stirling, soon penetrated into Sir William Howe's plan : and finding that he had been duped, resolved to remedy his errors while it was yet in his power. He therefore quitted the plains, and marching with the utmost speed, was so fortunate as to regain and secure the passages in the mountains ; the want of which would have exposed him to the necessity of a critical change of position, which could not have been executed without the greatest hazard.

Sir William Howe finding, that the caution and prudence of General Washington had rendered his schemes abortive, and that he adhered too firmly to his plan of acting on the defensive, to be induced to hazard a general engagement, by any other means than some very clear and decided advantage, resolved to change the theatre of the war ; and, agreeably to his instructions, to endeavour to obtain possession of Philadelphia and the southern colonies. To proceed from Amboy to the Delaware, through a country entirely hostile, and with such a force as the enemy had in his rear, appeared to the British Commander highly improper ; and the season was so far advanced, that no time was to be lost. He therefore returned with his army to Amboy, on the second day after its expedition against General Washington, and on the next, passed it over to Staten Island, (29th of June). Here he embarked in transports, such corps as he designed to take with him to the southward,* amounting to thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, including the light-infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a provincial corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light dragoons. Seventeen battalions, with a regiment of light dragoons, (one troop excepted) a proportional detachment of artillery, and the remainder of the provincial corps, were left at New York and the adjoining islands, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton. Rhode Island was occupied by seven British and Hessian battalions, one troop of the

the 17th dragoons, and a detachment of artillery, commanded (after the capture of Major-General Prescott) by Major-General Pigot. Lord Viscount Howe commanded the fleet that escorted and was to act in concert with the army under Sir William Howe: Rear-Admiral Sir Peter Parker commanded the squadron stationed at Rhode Island; as did Commodore Hotham that stationed at New York. Major-General Maffey commanded the troops at Halifax and in Nova Scotia; and Sir George Collier, the King's ships and vessels on that station.*

When Sir William Howe was ready to put to sea from Sandy Hook, he received a piece of intelligence which gave him very great uneasiness. It was, that on the 10th of July, a small party of the enemy, led by a Colonel Barton, an officer of considerable merit, had come in a few whale-boats from Providence, and unperceived by the guard-boats of the fleet, landed about midnight near the quarters of Major-General Richard Prescott, who then commanded the King's troops on Rhode Island: and that they had proceeded with such dexterity and silence, as to surprise the General and his aid-de-camp, make them prisoners, and convey them safely, through all the perils that lay in their way, to the continent. This exploit excited much exultation on the part of the enemy, and more regret on the other side than it merited.

So many and so various are the preparatory steps to set on foot an expedition of such magnitude, as that projected by Sir William Howe to the southward, that notwithstanding all the diligence exerted by the Admiral and himself, with the aid of the crews of a great number of the transport ships, it was the 23d of July before the armament was enabled to depart from Sandy Hook.

To perplex General Washington as much as possible, and to conceal the real destination of this expedition, Sir William Howe ordered some transports, with a ship (cut down) to act as a floating battery, to proceed up North River a little before the embarkation was completed. This feint so far succeeded, that

* See Note 61.

that it induced the rebel General to detach a considerable body of troops from his army across that river.

The sailing of this grand fleet excited a general alarm throughout the continent of North America. Boston, the North River, the Delaware, the Chesapeake, and even Charlestown, were alternately supposed to be the objects of it. For a considerable time, General Washington was quite at a loss how to proceed. He was continually dispatching to different parts of the country expresses upon expresses, with accounts of his suspicions, and with directions to put those places in the best posture of defence. Many corps and detachments of his troops were marched and countermarched, according to the intelligence conveyed to him. This perplexity evinced the advantage and propriety of proceeding with the troops by sea; since thereby it was impossible for him to discover precisely, where the blow would be struck. He was accordingly obliged to remain in his present position, with the greatest part of his troops: and if the King's army had been fortunate enough to have had a quick voyage, and to have been landed in the Delaware, they might have made considerable progress, nay, perhaps attained the ultimate object of their destination, before he could have been in a condition to oppose to them any effectual resistance. In this event, his caution and prudence would have availed him little; because their progress might have deprived him of the choice of posts, by which he had hitherto avoided a general action.

As soon as General Washington was certainly informed, that the British fleet were observed to stand very far up the Chesapeake, immediately forming a conjecture of Sir William Howe's intention, he detached General Gates to Connecticut with some troops, and sent a train of artillery, and some infantry, to join Major-General Arnold, with orders for him to proceed with all possible dispatch to Saratoga, to oppose the British army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne. With the remainder of his army, he immediately marched across the Jerseys, crossed the river Delaware, and repaired to Philadelphia,

that he might be at hand to oppose Sir William Howe, who had left directions to Lieutenant-General Clinton at New York, to do every thing in his power, either to effect a junction with the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne; or, if that could not be done, to make such powerful diversions up the North River, as would compel the enemy's General acting against him to weaken his army, by sending considerable detachments to oppose their progress. The operations in the neighbourhood of New York, and those conducted by Sir Henry Clinton and the officers under his command, shall be the first objects of our attention; the narration of the sequel of the expedition from Canada will immediately follow; and after that, the detail of the proceedings of the grand armaments under the two Commanders in Chief.

The troops stationed on Staten Island, under the command of Major-General John Campbell, having frequently made irruptions into the Jerseys and brought off cattle, General Sullivan, who commanded the enemy's forces in these parts, determined to retaliate by making an attack upon that island. He accordingly selected upwards of two thousand of his best men for this service, having under him Brigadier-Generals Smallwood and de Bore. For carrying their design into execution, they had fixed on the 22d of August: when, after settling all their arrangements, they embarked their troops at Amboy and Elizabeth-town in whale-boats, hoping to perplex the British General, by landing at once on three different places. The party under General Sullivan was to be joined, soon after landing, by General Smallwood and his corps, and to proceed directly to Richmond. By means of this junction, they confidently expected, that they should succeed in cutting off about three thousand provincials in the King's service. It fortunately happened, however, that General Sullivan's plan was not clearly understood by his subordinate general officers. Accordingly, after waiting in vain for the junction of General Smallwood's corps, he was obliged to march for Richmond without them. General Smallwood had at first some success, having defeated and taken
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a part of Colonel Lawrence's provincial battalion ; but hearing nothing of General Sullivan, he employed his time in embarking his prisoners for the continent. This gave leisure to the British Commandant to collect a force sufficient to drive the enemy off the island. General Campbell accordingly sent expresses to all the different commanding officers, directing them to maintain their posts to the utmost extremity ; and informing them, that he was hastening with troops to their relief. The enemy now made all possible haste to escape. Their rear guard was attacked with great spirit by a corps of loyal provincials, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dunkin, who engaged them for almost half an hour ; when Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with the 52d regiment and some field-pieces, came to his assistance. The cannon being directed against their boats, all that remained on shore, amounting to one hundred and fifty, were glad to surrender prisoners of war. From another part of the island, General de Bore got off to Amboy ; as did General Sullivan, who gained very little credit among his countrymen by this exploit. His only trophies were about thirty gentlemen whom he had made prisoners. Though most of these were quakers, and were not in arms, but had retired to this spot to avoid the calamities ever attendant on a civil war, he called them Tories, and sent them to the Congress at Philadelphia.

In this attempt on Staten Island, many of the enemy were killed and wounded, and two hundred and fifty-nine of them were made prisoners ; among whom was one Lieutenant-Colonel, three Majors, two Captains, and fifteen inferior officers.

Sir Henry Clinton desirous of performing some effectual service, with the forces intrusted to his command at New York, had, with this view, planned an irruption into the Jerseys. Ignorant as yet of the particulars of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's progress, but informed that Sir William Howe had effected his landing at the head of Elk river, he judged, that by preventing the enemy from sending reinforcements to their troops who opposed these commanders, such a movement might at this time prove critical in assisting both armies. If he should

meet with resistance, the force which he intended to assemble for this expedition was so great, that he had nothing to dread from any number that could probably be collected to act against him: or if he should be suffered to proceed unmolested, he might avail himself of that advantage, by endeavouring to obtain a supply of live cattle for the use of the army under his command. He accordingly made his arrangements for this expedition; and fixed on the 12th of September, as a proper time for landing his troops at four different places. One party, consisting of the 7th, 26th, and 52d regiments, the Anspach and Waldeck grenadiers, and three hundred loyal provincials, under Brigadier-General Campbell, were destined for Elizabethtown Point. A second, composed of two hundred and fifty recruits of the 71st regiment, and some convalescents, with two pieces of cannon, under Captain Drummond, were to land at Schuyler's ferry. A third, comprehending Captain Emmerick's chasseurs, five companies of grenadiers and light-infantry, the 57th and 63d regiments of British, the Hessian regiment of Prince Charles, and five pieces of very light artillery, commanded by Major-General Vaughan, were to sail for Fort Lee. The last, amounting only to four hundred loyal provincials and forty marines, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, were intended for Tapan.

General Clinton had concerted his plan so well, that while the different detachments could have supported each other in case of need, all of them contributed to forward the general purpose of the expedition. On their landing they found the country not altogether destitute of defence. There were in it some rebel troops, who had a few pieces of cannon: but in the several skirmishes with these, which occurred in different places, the King's troops had always an easy victory. Once, indeed, when very strongly posted behind a deep ravine, the enemy made some shew of maintaining their ground; but on observing that General Clinton was preparing to attack them in flank, they retired into the woods, and gave him no farther molestation. As the weather was threatening to break, and
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his men had no tents or blankets, and as his foraging parties had collected a considerable number of cattle, he judged it expedient to return to New York. With this view, he collected his whole force at Newbridge on the 15th: but unwilling to impose any unnecessary hardship upon the inhabitants, by depriving them of too many of their cattle, he carried along with him only four hundred, including twenty milch cows for the use of the hospital, four hundred sheep, and a few horses. On the 16th, General Campbell and his corps marched to Bergen-Point, where they embarked for Staten Island; and General Vaughan, with the remainder, proceeded to Fort Lee, where they crossed the North River. The whole reached their former stations by two o'clock. During this expedition, General Clinton experienced the greatest assistance from the navy, which was always ready, at the several places where the troops embarked, to give every aid in their power.

No sooner did General Clinton return to New York, than, agreeably to his instructions, he set about giving aid to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, which he supposed were by this time on their way from Lake George, and approaching the Hudson's river. As soon therefore as Major-General Robertson, after an uncommonly tedious passage from England, had arrived, with about two thousand recruits and a great supply of stores, he embarked upwards of three thousand men, with the design of attacking Forts Montgomery and Clinton. These two forts, separated from one another only by a creek, over which there is a bridge of communication, are situated about sixty miles above New York, on the west side of Hudson's or North River, which they were intended to command. Commodore Hotham having made the necessary naval arrangements, the flat-boats and batteaux proceeded from New York, on the 3d of October, to Spikedevil creek, in three divisions, under the naval Captains Pownall, Jordan, and Stanhope: Captain Pownall having the direction of the whole. A body of eleven hundred troops, who had been embarked that evening, proceeded to Tarrytown, where they landed at day-break,

break, and occupied the adjoining heights. A second division, of nearly the same number, marched at the same time from King's Bridge; and travelling by land, formed a junction with those who had gone by water. The squadron, under Captain Ommaney, had, on the preceding day, moved up the river to receive them. The smaller part of this squadron, namely the galleys and armed vessels, which might have occasion to act separately, were put by the Commodore under the direction of Sir James Wallace; and the benefit both of his knowledge of the river and of Captain Ommaney's, was fully experienced.

The third division of the troops, which embarked in transports, sailed from New York on the morning of the 4th, under convoy of the Preston; and in the course of the tide arrived off Tarrytown. During the same night, all the troops ashore were embarked in the flat-boats and batteaux; and as the wind continued favourable, the whole, with Sir James Wallace's division as an advanced guard, got under way, and reached Vere-Plank's Point at noon the following day. The soldiers in the flat-boats were landed immediately without opposition, the enemy's troops having retired as they approached, without firing a shot, and left a twelve pounder behind them. Sir James Wallace, with his division, was then dispatched higher up the river, to cut off the enemy's communication with the country by Peek's-kill ferry. By day-break on the 6th, all the troops, except about four hundred left to secure Vere-Plank-neck, were disembarked on the opposite shore at Stony-Point, from which they had to march about twelve miles, through a mountainous and rugged road, to Forts Clinton and Montgomery. The ships and transports then moved still higher up, and anchored opposite to Peek's-kill landing.

In the afternoon, the advanced squadron and the two frigates got under sail, and opened a fire upon Fort Montgomery, with a view only to make an appearance, and thereby to cause a diversion in favour of the attack, which had then commenced.

As soon as the troops were landed on Stony-Point, General Clinton arranged them in the following order. The front division,

vision, consisting of the 52d and 27th regiments, Loyal Americans, New York volunteers, and Emmerick's provincial chaffeurs, amounting to about nine hundred men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who had under him Colonel Robinson of the provincials, were put in motion in order to occupy the pass of Thunder-hill. After passing that mountain, it was to proceed by a circuit of seven miles round the hill, until it should get close to the rear of Fort Montgomery. The second or centre division, which was composed of the grenadiers and light-infantry, 26th and 63d regiments, one company of the 71st regiment, one troop of dismounted dragoons, and the Hessian chaffeurs, making in all about twelve hundred men, commanded by Major-General Vaughan, was ordered to march towards Fort Clinton, and to cover the corps under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. It was directed to co-operate with him, to get close to the rear of Fort Clinton, while he got behind Fort Montgomery; and if any misfortune should happen, to cover the retreat. The rear division, consisting of the Royal Fuzileers and Tromback's Hessian regiment, under the command of Major-General Tryon, was to occupy the pass of Thunder-hill, and to keep open the communication with the fleet.

From the many extraordinary difficulties which the first division had to encounter on their march, in the course of which every natural obstruction was aided and increased by all that art could invent, it was five o'clock in the evening before it reached its destination: but as the corps under General Vaughan was in readiness, the attack on both forts immediately commenced. As the enemy were well prepared, and their works strong, they made an obstinate defence. Nothing, however, could withstand the ardour of the royal troops; and every corps came in for its share of glory. The galleys fired into Fort Montgomery, at the very time when Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell assaulted it on the land side. He was unfortunately killed by the enemy's first fire: but Colonel Robinson, who shewed himself worthy to succeed so brave an officer, persevered

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ed in the attack until he became master of the place. Fort Clinton is situated on a circular height, defended by a line for musquetry, with a barbed battery of three guns in the centre, and flanked by two redoubts. The approaches to it were through a continued abbatis of near four hundred yards in length, defensive in its whole course, and exposed to the fire of ten pieces of cannon. Major-General Vaughan led on his men to the attack of this fort with great spirit; and although it was defended with resolution, their ardour overcame every difficulty. The corps under Major-General Tryon gave all possible assistance to the assailants; and by eight o'clock in the evening, both forts were in their possession.

The royal army in this conflict suffered little in point of numbers, compared to what might have been dreaded from a service so severe; but the loss of many excellent officers was much to be lamented.* About a hundred of the enemy were supposed to be killed and wounded; and two hundred and fifty were made prisoners. Their loss in other respects was immense.

About ten o'clock at night, they set fire to their two ships, the Montgomery and Congress, some galleys and other armed vessels, with all their cannon and stores on board. Besides their forts, ships, and cannon, a sloop of ten guns was taken.† Every article belonging to their laboratory, which was in the greatest perfection, other stores, such as port-fires, match-harness, spare gun-carriages, tools, instruments, a large quantity of provisions, and the boom and chain which ran across the river from Fort Montgomery to St. Anthony's Nose, and which is supposed to have cost 70,000l.‡ fell into the hands of the conquerors. Another boom, near Fort Constitution, which must likewise have cost much money and labour, was rendered useless.

On the 7th, General Clinton and Commodore Hotham
summoned

* See Note 62.

† See Note 63.

‡ This chain was of most excellent workmanship; it was sent to England, and from that to Gibraltar, where it was of great use in protecting the shipping at the moles.

summoned Fort Constitution to surrender; but the fort fired on their flag: on which they resolved to chastise its garrison for their insolence. For this purpose, they caused some troops to be embarked, under the command of Major-General Tryon, who, together with the galleys and armed vessels, under Sir James Wallace, were ordered on the 8th to proceed on this service. But when they reached the fort, they found that the enemy had evacuated it in much confusion, having burnt their storehouses; but left their cannon unspiked. The Commodore immediately sent orders to Sir James Wallace to proceed higher up the river, and if possible to find a passage through the chevaux de frise, between Polypus island and the main.

Early in the morning of the 10th, General Clinton detached Major-General Tryon, with Emmerick's chasseurs, fifty Yagers, the Royal Fusileers, and the regiment of Tromback, with two three pounders, to destroy one of the enemy's settlements called Continental Village. The General succeeded in this expedition: and having burnt barracks for fifteen hundred men, and several storehouses and loaded waggons, he rejoined General Clinton by ten o'clock the same night.

On the 14th of October, the General sent Major-General Vaughan, with a body of troops in batteaux, escorted by Sir James Wallace's Squadron, higher up the river, against the town of Kingston, vulgarly called Esopus, where it was reported the enemy had very considerable stores. They arrived off that place in the morning of the 15th: and finding that the insurgents had thrown up trenches, and made every disposition to annoy them, the General deemed it expedient to attack them, before they should have time to strengthen their works, or to collect reinforcements. He therefore landed his detachment immediately, and assailed their batteries. Having driven them from their works, and spiked and destroyed their guns, he advanced directly to the town; at the entrance of which he found a body of men, with small arms and artillery, drawn up to oppose him. Instantly attacking them with spirit, he routed them, and seized their cannon. On entering the town,
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the enemy fired on his men from their houses; on which, he gave orders to set the town on fire: and it was entirely consumed, together with a considerable quantity of military stores.

During this transaction, Sir James Wallace destroyed all the enemy's ships except an armed galley, which run up the creek.

After this service was performed, General Clinton finding that a junction with General Burgoyne's army was impracticable, returned with the Commodore and the combined armament to New York. On his arrival there, in consequence of orders which he had received from Sir William Howe, he embarked the recruits lately come from Britain for the regiments serving with the Commander in Chief, and sent them to join the army at Philadelphia. They were accompanied by Major-General Leslie, (who had recovered from a broken leg,) and by Brigadier-General Pattison, who was to take command of the artillery in room of Brigadier-General Cleavland, who had obtained leave to return to England.

It will now be proper to direct our attention to the progress of General Burgoyne's operations, as far as they fall within the design of this work.

Congress had little reason to be well pleased with the conduct of their General Officers, appointed to defend the frontier against which he acted. Most of them were ordered either to be tried by Courts-martial, or to attend Congress and give an account of their conduct. Major-General Arnold, who had behaved with such intrepidity at Ridgefield, was appointed to take the command of the army opposed to General Burgoyne, until the arrival of Major-General Gates, who was nominated to the chief command. When General Arnold joined his army, he ordered it to fall back from Saratoga to Still Water, a place considerably nearer to the influx of the Mohawk into the Hudson's river. This movement was intended to check the progress of the little army under the command of Brigadier-General St. Leger, who, according to the information which he had received, was advancing by the first of these rivers.

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By this well chosen situation, he greatly quieted the minds of the inhabitants, which had been much agitated by the dread of our Indian allies; who made the approach both of General Burgoyne and St. Leger to be viewed with horror, and the British army to be detested in this part of America.

General Burgoyne arrived at Fort Edward about the end of July: and from this time to the 30th of August, his army was continually employed in collecting an adequate store of provisions and ammunition, and in bringing forward some batteaux from Fort George to the first navigable part of Hudson's river, a distance not exceeding eighteen English miles. The intense heat of the weather, and the steepness of the roads in some parts, with their very bad repair, rendered their toil oppressive and their progress small and slow. Of the horses, which had been supplied by contract in Canada, through various delays and accidents, attending so long and intricate a combination of land and water carriage, scarcely one-third had arrived: and in all the country through which his army had marched, as well as in that in which it was now encamped, he had been able, by his utmost exertions, to collect only fifty teams of oxen. These resources, wholly inadequate to the purpose of forming such a magazine as might enable him, according to his instructions, to advance and attain the object of the campaign, were scarcely more than sufficient to subsist his army from day to day. The very heavy rains, which fell at this time, greatly increased his difficulties. Indeed, the impediments to the service were so various and stubborn, that after the greatest efforts for fifteen successive days, he had not above four days provisions in store, or more than ten batteaux.

In the midst of these unceasing embarrassments, he received intelligence, that Brigadier-General St. Leger had arrived before Fort Stanwix; against which he was conducting his operations. He instantly and clearly saw the great advantages, which might eventually result from a rapid forward movement of his army, at this critical juncture. If the enemy should detach a body of forces to oppose Brigadier St. Leger, they would be thereby

thereby placed between two fires: if the Brigadier should prove successful, he might be enabled to attain the object of his campaign by pushing forward the Canadian army to Albany; or, if the insurgents should still persist in opposing that design, they must stand an action, and if defeated, cross the Hudson's river, and retire into the New England provinces.

The propriety of the movement was evident: but the difficulty, which was great indeed, lay in finding means to carry it into execution. To secure a daily supply of provisions to the army, it would be necessary to establish a chain of posts all the way between it and Fort George. As it advanced, this distance must daily increase, while these posts would necessarily become more numerous, and their situation liable to many variations. From an army, greatly reduced by many battles, and by excessive fatigue, it was impracticable to spare so many men as the execution of this measure would require. Besides, every supply of provisions, would require a strong party to escort it. This would continually diminish his force; and if the enemy should carry any one of his posts, the chain of communication would be broken, his supplies cut off, and his whole scheme rendered abortive. Nor did this seem to be an improbable event, when he considered the great numbers of troops which they had already assembled to oppose him, and which were hourly increasing.

General Burgoyne was therefore reduced to the alternative, either of devising some other means of procuring a supply of provisions, or of abandoning his design. He had learned, that the New England provinces furnished the rebels with most of their supplies of live cattle, which passing the upper part of the Connecticut river, took the route by Manchester and Arlington, until they reached their grand depot at Bennington; from which they were conveyed to their army as occasion required. As this place lies not above twenty miles from Hudson's river, he formed a scheme of sending a force to take from their depot, such a supply of cattle, as would enable him to advance with his army in the manner projected. If this enterprize should

should succeed, it could not fail to distress the enemy, and to oblige them, either to detach a body of troops to reinforce their post at Bennington, or to fall back to Albany for supplies.

On the 13th of August, the General therefore detached Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, with a corps of six hundred men,* attended by near one hundred Indians, to Bennington. Written instructions, drawn up with great judgment, were delivered to that officer : and if attention had been paid to these, the misfortune which befel his detachment might have been avoided. On the 14th, the army moved up the east shore of Hudson's river ; a bridge of rafts was formed, over which the advanced corps passed, and encamped at Saratoga : Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman was posted near Button-hill, and was directed, with the corps† which he commanded, to be in readiness to reinforce Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, if further strength should be found requisite.

The Lieutenant-Colonel's march was soon discovered by the enemy : and General Stark, who commanded on the part of the insurgents in that country, prepared, with all the forces he could collect, to cut off his detachment. Colonel Baum was deceived, by trusting to a number of people, who professed to be friends that they might the easier betray him. Finding that the enemy were much stronger than he expected, he intrenched himself upon the ground which he occupied. On the 16th, he was attacked on all sides ; and after performing prodigies of valour, losing a number of men, and being himself wounded, he and his troops were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. He had not neglected to send information of his situation to Colonel Breyman, who immediately upon receiving it, put his corps in motion to support him ; but a heavy rain, which fell at that unlucky moment, so effectually retarded their march, that before they could reach Bennington, his party

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were

* Two hundred of Reidesel's dismounted dragoons, Captain Frazer's marksmen, the Canada volunteers, and a detachment of provincials, about a hundred Indians, and two light field-pieces.

† The Brunswick grenadiers, light-infantry, and chasseurs.

were entirely discomfited. Colonel Breyman finding his efforts thus rendered useless, returned to the camp at Saratoga.

The rebels were not inattentive to relieve Fort Stanwix. A party of militia, amounting to between eight and nine hundred men, had been collected by a General Harkimer, to attempt to raise the siege; but General St. Leger, having got early notice of their approach, took measures to intercept them. On the 6th of August, they fell into an ambushade, and were routed: General Harkimer and two hundred of his men being killed, and many wounded, the rest dispersed. This victory was bought dear by the British, as their Indian allies had upwards of thirty of their principal warriors killed in the action. So little had they been accustomed to sustain such losses, that the survivors suspected treachery. A circumstance which served to confirm them in this suspicion was, that during the heat of the battle, the Commandant of the Fort had made a sally, in which, besides doing other mischief, he was so successful as in a great measure to sack the Indian camp. From this time, the friendship of the Indians to the British began to abate. They had been allured to this service by the hope of plunder, and by a promise that they should not be exposed to danger; in both of which they were disappointed. The fort had now no prospect of relief, and next day General St. Leger summoned it to surrender, but the Commandant replied, that he would defend it to the last extremity. The General's artillery was too light to reduce him soon to this situation, and he could hope to succeed only by starving the garrison, yet he continued to fire at and to bombard the fort.

No sooner did General Gates learn the fate of General Harkimer, than he ordered a considerable detachment from his army, under Major-General Arnold, to the relief of Fort Stanwix. When that officer had got the length of Schenectady, he found means, by a successful device, effectually to accomplish the service upon which he was employed. He conveyed intelligence to General St. Leger, by a pretended deserter, that a large body of troops was advancing to the relief of the fort:
and

and at the same time, a savage arrived at the Indian camp with similar information. This happened about the 20th of August, when a great desertion of the Indian allies had taken place, and the discontent of the remainder had arisen to such a height, that General St. Leger was doubtful, whether they would not turn their arms against the British troops. He therefore raised the siege on the 22d, and retreated towards Oswego, leaving all his artillery behind him : and General Arnold, having attained the object of his expedition, returned with his detachment to rejoin the rebel army at Still Water ; where his bravery was not less conspicuous than it had been on the expedition to Danbury.

Fortune, who had smiled on the operations of General Burgoyne until the unfortunate affairs of Fort Stanwix and Bennington, now began to forsake him ; and when he saw such insurmountable difficulties arising from his pushing forward, it is to be lamented, that he thought himself so tied up by his instructions, as to be still obliged to persevere in his endeavours to form a junction with the Commander in Chief. The affair at Bennington had greatly raised the spirits of the New Englanders ; and when General Burgoyne advanced to Hudson's river, and had thrown a bridge over it, with a view of attacking the rebel army and forcing his way to Albany, they devised a plan to cut off his supplies, and at the same time to recover the fortress of Ticonderago, and other places which they had lost. While the General found sufficient employment in opposing the efforts of Generals Gates and Arnold, they seized the critical minute to increase his perplexities, by setting on foot an enterprise, which he very little expected. Their means of making this effort were the militia of the upper parts of New Hampshire and Connecticut, which had been assembled with great industry by General Lincoln : and its objects were, to cut off General Burgoyne's communication with Canada, to recover all the forts they had lost, and once more to become masters of the navigation of Lake George. The manner of conducting this plan was left entirely to Ge-

neral Lincoln, who employed in this undertaking, Colonels Brown, Johnston, and Woodbury; each of whom had a detachment of five hundred men under his command. These officers conducted their operations with such secrecy and success, that on the 17th of September, they made a sudden and general attack on the carrying-place at Lake George, Sugar-hill, alias Mount Defiance, Ticonderago, and Mount Independence. The officer commanding the armed sloop stationed to defend the carrying-place, and the officers commanding the posts at the Sugar-hill and at the portage, were surprised, and a considerable part of four companies of the fifty-third regiment were made prisoners. A blockhouse, defended by Lieutenant Lord of the 53d regiment, was the only post that had time to use its arms; and it made a brave defence, till the cannon taken from the surprised vessel was brought against it, when it was obliged to submit. The rebels seized above one hundred and fifty batteaux, several large gun-boats, and other water craft, and even got possession of the old French lines near the fort of Ticonderago, where Brigadier-General Powell commanded; but after twice summoning him to surrender, they received such an answer as they might have expected from a vigilant officer, intrusted with the command of so important a post. Other means than negociation were attempted to accomplish their purpose: attacks were repeated for four days, but without effect, and they were at last obliged to retreat without doing the place any material injury. The Brunswick regiment of Prince Frederick, and other troops stationed on Mount Independence, behaved with great bravery; and there Captain Taylor of the 21st, and Lieutenant Bearcroft of the 24th regiments, greatly distinguished themselves. Their presence was accidental, being on their way to the army from the hospital, when, with the artificers in arms, they undertook the defence of an important battery.

A body of the rebels proceeded across Lake George by means of the batteaux they had seized; and on the 24th of September, attacked Diamond island in two divisions. From the time
that

that the army had crossed the Hudson's river, Captain Aubrey, with two companies of the 47th regiment, had been posted at this island, as a better situation for the security of the stores at the south end of Lake George than Fort George, which lies on the continent, and is not tenable against artillery and numbers. With his little band he not only repulsed the rebels, but getting into the gun-boats which had been left at Diamond island to his care, pursued them to the east shore, and retook two of their principal vessels, together with all the cannon. Such was his expedition, that they had time only to set fire to the other batteaux, and to retreat over the mountains.

The bridge, composed of rafts, which General Burgoyne had thrown across the Hudson's river, having been carried away by a flood, a new bridge of boats was constructed, and the army having then provision for about thirty days, passed it on the 13th and 14th of September. On the 15th, he began his march towards the enemy at Still Water; but having many bridges to repair, it was the 18th before he reached that place. Having fully reconnoitred the roads and passages leading to their works, the General made his arrangements and moved forward on the 19th: and about two o'clock in the afternoon, an obstinate and bloody battle took place, which continued till sunset, when the rebels were forced to retire, and night prevented a pursuit or the capture of many prisoners. The enemy did not move to any great distance: their position was very strong, and they immediately set to work to fortify what they deemed the weakest part of their encampment.

General Burgoyne soon found, that no advantages would result from his victory at Still Water. The insurgents were still undismayed, and their numbers continued to increase; so that it became expedient to erect strong redoubts, not only to defend the magazine and hospital against a sudden attack, but also to protect them, if he should find it necessary to march the army with the intention of turning the enemy's left flank.

A messenger arrived on the 21st at head-quarters, with a letter in cyphers from Sir Henry Clinton to General Burgoyne,

informing him of his intention to attack Fort Montgomery in about fourteen days from the date of his letter, which was the 10th of September. The General sent back the messenger that same night, with instructions to give Sir Henry Clinton the most exact account of his situation, to state the necessity of his making a diversion to oblige General Gates to detach men from his army; and also to inform him, that he intended, if possible, to wait favourable events in his present position, till the 12th of October. In the course of the two following days, he sent off two officers in disguise, and other confidential persons, by different routes, with verbal messages to the same effect; and in the mean time, continued to employ as many men as could be spared from other duties, in fortifying his camp and watching the motions of the rebels.

To prolong their means of subsistence as much as possible, the General judged it advisable, on the 3d of October, to diminish the foldiers' ration: and the army submitted to this restriction with the utmost cheerfulness. The difficulties of a retreat to Canada were plainly foreseen; and even if this should be effected, his leaving such an army as that which General Gates now commanded, at full liberty to act against Sir William Howe, might be productive of dangerous consequences.

These considerations operated powerfully with General Burgoyne, and determined him to abide events as long as possible. He reasoned thus: the expedition which he commanded was evidently meant at first to be *hazarded*; circumstances might require that it should be *devoted*; and a critical junction of Mr. Gates's force with that under Mr. Washington, might possibly decide the fate of the war: while, on the contrary, the failure of his junction with Sir Henry Clinton, or the prevention of his retreat to Canada, could only be a partial misfortune. In this situation, things remained till the 7th of October: when the General having received no intelligence of the expected co-operation, and his intended stay at his present camp drawing within four or five days of a close, judged it advisable to make a movement to the enemy's left; not only to discover whether there

there were any possible means of forcing a passage, if it should be found necessary to advance, or of dislodging the enemy for the convenience of a retreat; but also to cover a forage of the army, which was in the greatest distress from scarcity.

The necessary arrangements having been made for putting this plan in execution, the army was put in motion: but this was soon perceived by the enemy, who were now increased to near sixteen thousand men, while it was diminished to little more than a fourth part of that number. An action then commenced, which was continued for some hours with great obstinacy: the British intrenchments were assailed by the rebels with the greatest bravery and skill; General Arnold's spirit and activity in this action did him great honour; he was however repulsed, and carried off the field wounded. A change of position became necessary: and the retreat was covered by such corps as could be collected, under the orders of Major-General Phillips and Reidesel. The troops were hard pressed, but kept in good order. They were, however, obliged to leave behind them six pieces of cannon, all the horses and most of the artillerymen; Major Williams, of that corps, was killed in this unfortunate battle.

Scarcely had they entered their camp, when it was stormed with great fury; the rebels attacking the lines under a severe fire of grape-shot and small arms. The post of the light-infantry, under the Earl of Balcarras, assisted by some of the line, who were ordered to throw themselves into the intrenchments, was defended with great spirit, and the assailants, led on by General Arnold, were repulsed; but the intrenchments of the German reserve, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, who was killed, were carried: and the enemy thereby gained an opening on the right and on the rear of the King's army. Night put an end to the action.

During the night, General Burgoyne took a new position with his army, and occupied such strong ground, as prevented the rebels from reaping any immediate advantage from their recent success. They were obliged, on the 8th, to change
their

their position; but did not choose to renew the attack.

The loss sustained by the King's army on the 7th was very great in men, as well as officers: among the latter was Brigadier-General Frazer, who did not long survive a mortal wound which he had received in the action. His death was severely felt by the army, in which he was universally esteemed and regarded, in every respect, as a most complete and excellent officer. The measures pursued by the rebels, during the whole of the 8th, shewed the great necessity of a retreat to Saratoga; which was executed in the most masterly manner. The army began to march at nine in the evening: the van guard being commanded by General Reidesel, and the rear guard by Major-General Phillips. A heavy rain, and various encumbrances, prevented them from arriving at Saratoga until the evening of the 9th, and their artillery until the next morning.*

General Burgoyne now found, that his perplexities increased every hour. The ford over the Hudson's river was in the possession of the enemy, who had posted a strong corps on the opposite side to secure it: his batteaux, with his provisions and military stores, were presently attacked, and some of them lost: and he was at last obliged to land their cargoes, and to transport them up the hill on which his army was now posted. He made every possible attempt to retreat to Fort Edward, and from that to Lake George; but the rebels had become so numerous, that they had secured all the passes and eminences, so that after repeated trials, he was compelled to abandon the design. To these misfortunes it must be added, that, besides the loss sustained by the King's army in various actions and severe service, all the Indians, and almost all the Canadians and provincials, had forsaken them and retired to their homes. Thus disagreeably situated, General Burgoyne held frequent consultations on their critical state, with the General and Field Officers under his command. The enemy's army extended three-fourths of a circle round them; and, from the nature of the ground, it was protected in all parts from attacks. It was therefore

* See Note 64.

therefore determined, that the King's army should take the strongest position in their power, fortify their camp, and wait, until the 13th at night, in anxious hope of succours from their friends.

During this disagreeable suspense the men lay upon their arms: the camp was cannonaded from all quarters, and even rifle-shot and grape-shot came into every part of the lines, though without any considerable effect.

General Burgoyne ordered an exact account of the provisions to be taken: and on the 13th called a Council of War, which, besides the General Officers, consisted of all the Field Officers, and Captains commanding corps. It appeared to them, that by hard toil, incessant effort, stubborn action, the defection of the Indians, and the desertion or timidity of the Canadians and Provincials, a few individuals only excepted, their numbers were reduced to three thousand five hundred fighting men, not two thousand of which were British.* It was also found, that even this small remnant of a brave army, had only three days provision on short allowance in store; that they were disappointed in the last hope of any timely co-operation from other armies;† and that, destitute of the means of retreating

* See Note 65.

† Whatever expectations of co-operation General Burgoyne might have formed, no delay appears to have been made on the part of Sir Henry Clinton. In conjunct expeditions, great allowance ought always to be made for tides, currents, contrary winds, and other incidents, which frequently occur to retard such services. Forts Montgomery and Clinton were taken on the 6th of October, the day before the unfortunate battle at Still Water. Commodore Hotham immediately detached Sir James Wallace up the river, to try if it was possible to find a passage for the vessels and boats through the *chevaux de frise*, between Polypus island and the main, the effecting of which would greatly accelerate their proceedings. To execute these orders properly, some time must be employed in sounding to discover the passage, and then in removing the various obstacles which the enemy had thrown in the way. These operations, even without taking contrary winds into the account, must have been the causes of considerable delay. General Tryon was sent, on the 8th, against Fort Constitution; and on the 9th, against Continental Village: and it is presumed, that as soon as the navigation of the North River was made practicable, General Vaughan proceeded upward, and joined Sir James Wallace. On the 16th, Esopus was attacked: but this last operation could be of no use to the army under General Burgoyne, as the Convention was finally settled on the 15th of September.

retreating, they were surrounded by sixteen thousand men. Under these circumstances, the Council were unanimously of opinion, that General Burgoyne should open a treaty with Major-General Gates, and endeavour to obtain the most favourable terms of which their present situation would admit: Accordingly, that evening General Burgoyne dispatched a flag of truce, with a letter to General Gates: the consequence of which was, that a Treaty or Convention was entered on next day between the two Generals, the terms of which were finally settled and adjusted on the 15th. By these the King's forces, after marching out of their lines with all the honours of war, were to pile and leave their arms, to become prisoners of war, and to be conducted to Boston in New England, and there exchanged. It would be too tedious to insert all the particulars, relative to this memorable transaction, in the body of this work: the reader will find them, together with the various returns, &c. in the Appendix.* In this transaction, much praise is due to the generous and compassionate conduct of General Gates, who, when the British army marched out of their camp, agreeably to the terms of the Convention, to pile up their arms at the place appointed, so disposed of his troops, that not one under his command was to be seen. He had purposely drawn them up in such a manner, that they could neither be spectators of this humiliating scene, nor have it in their power to offer the smallest insult to soldiers, who had been as much distinguished by their bravery, as they now were by their misfortunes.

It is to be lamented, that the same spirit of honour and generosity which influenced the conduct of their General, in forming and executing the Convention with the British Commander, does not appear to have actuated the American Congress in their after conduct to the surrendered army. They not only failed to perform what the spirit of the Convention seemed to require; but appeared to forget what was due to the officer, who had conducted their arms to victory and success.

* See Note 66.

cess. What renders this circumstance the more remarkable is, that, on other trying occasions, this body of men had conducted themselves with wisdom, fortitude, and probity.

A NARRATIVE OF THE CONJUNCT EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

THE armament, under the command of their Excellencies Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Howe and General Sir William Howe,* sailed from Sandy Hook on the 23d of July; and on the 31st, arrived off the mouth of the Delaware. Having been informed, that the rebels had contrived to obstruct the navigation of that river, by obstacles which could not without much difficulty be removed, his Lordship and the General chose the circuitous course of sailing a considerable way up the great Bay of Chesapeak, of entering the river Elk, and endeavouring to make good the landing of the army near the head of that stream; which would bring it still nearer to Philadelphia. The fleet accordingly made sail for the Chesapeak; but unfortunately did not enter it until the 14th of August, having been much retarded by calms and contrary winds. Off the Capes of the Delaware, the Roebuck, Captain Hamond, joined the Admiral; and as he had acquired a correct knowledge of the intended navigation, the Liverpool was ordered into the station of the Roebuck, and he was directed to superintend the pilotage of the fleet.

On the 15th, the fleet anchored within the Capes of the Chesapeak: and on the 16th, weighed and stood up the bay. On the same day, the Sphynx took a brig from James's river, with a hundred and fifty hogheads of tobacco, which the Vice-Admiral generously allowed to be given to the sailors of the fleet.

On the 22d, the fleet anchored between the Sasfras and Elk rivers: and on the 23d, the Admiral and General, attended by other officers of rank, were employed in reconnoitring the

* See Note 67.

the adjacent coasts, and fixed on the 25th for landing the army, on the northern shore of the Elk river.

The plan fixed for effecting this was, that while the large ships of war should remain at anchor, the debarkation of the troops should be made in five divisions, each employing as many flat-bottomed boats as could be landed with regularity at one time. This service, together with the disposition of the covering ships, the arrangement of the boats, and all other circumstances relating to it, was intrusted to Captain Henry Duncan, with the proper navy officers under him. The *Roe-buck*, *Apollo*, *Sphynx*, *Vigilant*, *Senegal*, and *Swift*, were appointed to cover the landing of the troops : and on the morning of the day appointed, the flat-boats, with the infantry of the first division, advanced up the Elk, and were followed in succession by the transports of the second and third. The other transports, with the remaining divisions, were also ordered forward ; and, in the course of the day, the whole army, with the necessary proportion of artillery and stores, was completely disembarked. As the rebels had no forces in this part of the country, the army was landed opposite to Cecil Court-house, and about six miles from Turkey-point, without opposition.

Sir William Howe was informed, that General Washington with his army was encamped behind Brandywine creek, with an advanced corps on White-clay creek, and that his whole force amounted to near twenty thousand men. On the 27th, he issued a proclamation, offering protection to all who had not taken up arms against the King's authority ; inviting, by assurances of pardon, those who had been guilty of rebellion to return to their duty ; and entreating the peaceable inhabitants to remain quietly at their dwellings ; declaring, that they had no cause to fear any molestation from his troops.

On the 28th, the General moved, with the greatest part of his army, in two columns, and encamped at Elk-head. One of the columns marched from the landing place by the western side of the river. He left a corps, consisting of three brigades, encamped under General Knyphausen, at the place of debarkation,

tion, and one brigade in communication between the two camps.

This officer, with the corps under his orders, was directed on the 23d of September to join the army, when Sir William Howe divided it into two columns; the command of one of which was given to Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis, and of the other to Lieutenant-General Knyphausen. A corps, consisting of six battalions, was ordered to remain at Elk-head, under the command of Major-General Grant, to preserve the communication with the fleet. The army moved forward, and the two columns joined at Pencader; a place situated four miles to the eastward of the Elk, on the road to Christien bridge. On this day's march, the Hessian and Anspach chaffeurs, with the second battalion of light-infantry, who were at the head of Earl Cornwallis's column, fell in with a chosen corps of the rebels, consisting of a thousand men, advantageously posted in the woods, and attacked and defeated them, with the loss of only two officers wounded, and three privates killed and nineteen wounded. The loss of the enemy was much more considerable: they had upwards of fifty men killed, and many more wounded.

On the 6th, Captain Duncan, who superintended the naval department, having destroyed such vessels and stores as could not be removed from the head of the Elk, Major-General Grant left that station, and joined the army. On the 8th, the whole army marched by Newark, on the road leading from Newport to Lancaster, and encamped that evening in the township of Hokeffen, where General Washington had taken post, having his left to Christien creek, and his front covered by Red-clay creek.

In this situation, the two armies were only four miles asunder: but early in the night of the 8th, the enemy decamped, marched by the Lancaster road from Wilmington, and about ten o'clock the next morning crossed Brandywine creek at Chad's ford, taking post on the heights on the eastern side of that river.

As soon as General Howe obtained certain information of these motions, he ordered his army to advance in the afternoon of the 9th. The left column, led by General Knyphausen, marched by New Garden, while Lord Cornwallis, with the right, moved to Hokeffen's meeting-house; and both joined the next morning at Kenner's square.

The General having reconnoitred the enemy's situation, settled his plan for attacking them. At day-break on the 11th, the army marched in two columns. The right, commanded by Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, consisted of four Hessian battalions, under Major-General Stern; the first and second brigades of British, three battalions of the 71st regiment, the Queen's American Rangers, and one squadron of the 16th dragoons, under Major-General Grant; having with them six medium twelve pounders, four howitzers, and the light artillery belonging to the brigades. This column took the direct road to Chad's ford, seven miles distant from Kenner's square, and arrived in front of the enemy about ten o'clock, skirmishing most part of the march with their advanced troops. In these skirmishes, the Queen's Rangers, commanded by Captain Wemyss of the 40th regiment, distinguished themselves in a very particular manner.

The other column, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, Major-General Grey, Brigadier-Generals Matthew and Agnew, consisted of the mounted and dismounted chasseurs two squadrons of the 16th dragoons, two battalions of light-infantry, two battalions of British and three of Hessian grenadiers, two battalions of guards, the third and fourth brigades, with four light twelve pounders, and the artillery of the brigades. It marched about twelve miles to the Forks of the Brandywine, crossed the first branch at Trimble's ford, and the second at Jeffery's ford, about two o'clock in the afternoon; taking from thence the road to Dilworth, in order to turn the enemy's right at Chad's ford.

About noon, General Washington obtained intelligence of this movement, and detached to his right near ten thousand
men,

men, under General Sullivan, who took a strong position on the commanding ground above Birmingham church, with his left near to the Brandywine ; both his flanks covered by very thick woods, and his artillery advantageously disposed.

As soon as this was observed, which was about four o'clock, the King's troops advanced in three columns : and upon approaching the rebels, formed the line with the right towards the Brandywine ; the guards being upon their right, and the British grenadiers upon their left, supported by the Hessian grenadiers in a second line. To the left of the centre, were the two battalions of light-infantry, with the Hessian and Anspach chaffeurs, supported by the fourth brigade : and the third brigade formed the reserve.

Lord Cornwallis having formed the line with the corps under his command, the light-infantry and chaffeurs began the attack. The guards and grenadiers instantly advanced from the right, under a heavy fire of artillery and musquetry ; but they pushed on with an impetuosity, which the rebels were unable to withstand. Falling back into the woods in their rear, the King's troops entered with them, and pursued them closely for near two miles.

After this repulse, a part of the enemy's right took a second position, in a wood about a mile from Dilworth, from whence the second light-infantry and chaffeurs soon dislodged them ; and from this time, they did not rally again in force.

The first British grenadiers, the Hessian grenadiers, and guards, having, in the pursuit, got entangled in the woods, were no further engaged during the day.

The second light-infantry, second grenadiers, and fourth brigade, moved forward a mile beyond Dilworth ; where they attacked a corps of the rebels which had not been before engaged, and which was strongly posted to cover the retreat of their army, by the roads from Chad's ford, to Chester and Wilmington. Before this corps could be forced it was dark : and and the troops having undergone much fatigue in a march of seventeen miles, besides what they had supported since the commencement

mencement of the attack, the enemy made their escape. A total overthrow of their army might probably have been achieved, if there had remained but a single hour more of day-light.

As the event of General Knyphausen's attack was not known before it was dark, the third brigade was not brought into action, but kept in reserve, in the rear of the fourth brigade: and during the engagement no opportunity of employing the cavalry occurred. Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, as had been previously concerted, kept the enemy amused in the course of the day, by placing cannon so as to lead them to suspect, that he meant to force though he did not really intend to pass the ford, until the attack upon the enemy's right should commence. Accordingly, when it began, Major-General Grant crossed with the fourth and fifth regiments: and the fourth regiment* passing first, drove the enemy from an intrenchment and battery; and took from them three brass field-pieces, and a five and half inch howitzer, which had been placed there to command the ford. The rebels, after this work was carried, made little stand on that side: and when the guards appeared on their right flank, their retreat became general; but darkness coming on, before Lieutenant-General Knyphausen's corps could reach the heights, the action ceased.

The insurgents, who had at least fifteen thousand men engaged in the course of the day, retreated with great precipitation: part of their army retired to Chester, where it remained that night; but the greater body did not stop until it reached Philadelphia. Their loss in this action was very considerable in officers killed and wounded; they had also about three hundred men killed, six hundred wounded, and near four hundred made prisoners. The British army lost very few officers, and none of a higher rank than a Captain: eighty men were killed, and about four hundred wounded.†

The army lay this night on the field of battle: and on the
12th,

* Captain (now Colonel) James Moncrieffe, of the Corps of Engineers, served as a guide to the 4th regiment when it passed the ford.

† See Note 68.

12th, Major-General Grant, with the first and second brigades, marched to Concord. On the 13th, he was joined by the light-infantry and British grenadiers, under Lord Cornwallis; and then proceeded to Ashtown, within five miles of Chester. Sir William Howe, on the same day, detached the 71st regiment to Wilmington, where the enemy had thrown up works both to the land and to the river, in the last of which works they had seven pieces of cannon. These works they evacuated, and Major M'Donnell took possession of the place without opposition, and made Mr. McKinley, the new appointed President of the Lower Counties on Delaware, his prisoner.

On the 14th, Lieutenant-Colonel Loos, with the combined battalion of Rhall's brigade, escorted the sick and wounded to Wilmington, where the battalion of Mirbach was sent on the following day. The army moved on the 16th, in two columns, towards Goshen. Having received intelligence upon the march, that the enemy were advancing upon the Lancaster road, and within five miles of Goshen, Sir William Howe determined immediately to attack them, and gave orders for both columns to push on. Lord Cornwallis was directed to take his route by Goshen meeting-house, and Lieutenant-General Knyphausen by the road to Donningtown: but a violent fall of rain setting in, and continuing the whole day and night without intermission, the intended attack was found to be impracticable.

The first light-infantry, at the head of Earl Cornwallis's column, meeting with a party of the enemy's advanced guard, about a mile beyond Goshen, defeated them, killing twelve, and wounding more, without the loss of a man. Nearly about the same time, the chasseurs, at the head of Lieutenant-General Knyphausen's column, fell in with another of the enemy's parties, of which they killed an officer and five men, and took four officers prisoners, with the loss of three men wounded.

The enemy being thus apprised of the approach of the army, decamped immediately with the utmost precipitation; marched the whole night of the 16th, and got in the morning of the

following day to the Yellow Springs, having all their small ammunition damaged by the excessive rain.

In the evening of the 17th, the two columns encamped near each other on the Lancaster road. On the 18th, they joined on that road at the White Horse, and marched to Truduffrin. From that place, the General sent a detachment of light-infantry to Valley Forge upon the Schuylkill, where the enemy had a variety of stores, and a considerable magazine of flour: and the next day, by his orders, a considerable body of troops took post there.

The enemy crossed the Schuylkill on the 18th above French creek, and encamped on the banks of the river, on each side of Perkyomy creek; from which General Washington detached troops to all the fords on the Schuylkill, placing cannon at Swede's ford and the fords below.

Having received intelligence that General Wayne was lying at about three miles distance in the woods, in the rear of the left wing of the army, with a corps of fifteen hundred men and four pieces of cannon, Sir William Howe detached Major-General Grey, late at night on the 20th, with the second light-infantry, the 42d and 44th regiments, to surprise this corps: and that service was effected in the completest manner. That the enemy might have no notice of their approach by the report of arms, General Grey gave orders, that his detachment should not load their musquets; and marching his men with the greatest silence, he gained the enemy's left by one o'clock. He forced their out-sentries and piquets by the bayonet only, and rushing in upon their encampment, directed by the light of their fires, he killed and wounded not less than three hundred on the spot, and made between seventy and eighty prisoners, including several officers. He also took the greater part of their arms, and eight waggons loaded with baggage and stores. Upon the first alarm, the cannon were carried off; and the remainder of this corps owed their safety only to the darkness of the night. Nothing could exceed the good conduct of General Grey on this occasion; and his detachment also behaved
with

with the greatest gallantry: they lost in this attack, one Captain and three men killed, and four men wounded.

On the 21st, the army moved to Valley Forge, and encamped upon the banks of the Schuylkill, extending from Fatland ford to French creek. The enemy, upon this movement, quitted their position; and in the evening of this day, marched off towards Portsgrove.

General Howe, having explored the banks of the Schuylkill, ordered the grenadiers and light-infantry of the guards, on the afternoon of the 22d, to cross that river at Fatland ford, and to take post: and soon after that, he directed the chasseurs to cross at Gordon's ford, opposite to the left of the line; and also to take post. The army was put in motion at midnight: the vanguard was led by Lord Cornwallis; and the whole crossed the river at Fatland ford without opposition. Major-General Grant, who commanded the rear guard with the baggage, joined them before two o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d; when they were encamped in a very strong position, on the Monatony road, with their left to the Scuylkill, and Stony-run in their front. The General detached the second battalion of light-infantry to Swede's ford; and on its approach, a small party of the enemy quitted the place, leaving six pieces of iron cannon behind them.

On the 25th, the army marched in two columns to Germantown, about six miles from Philadelphia, and there encamped. Lord Cornwallis, with the British grenadiers and two battalions of Hessian grenadiers, took possession of Philadelphia next morning. His Lordship gave orders immediately to erect three batteries, for six medium twelve pounders and four howitzers, to act against any of the enemy's shipping and craft that might approach the town. These batteries were not finished on the 27th, when two frigates, a number of gallies, gondolas, and other armed vessels, came up from Mud Island, and attacked the lower battery of two guns and two howitzers. The largest frigate, called the Delaware, anchored within five hundred yards of the battery, and the other frigate somewhat more

distant; the galleys, gondolas, and other vessels, taking their respective stations as they could bring their guns to bear. About ten in the morning, they began a heavy cannonade upon the town as well as the battery; but the tide ebbing, the Delaware grounded: upon which, the four battalion guns of the grenadiers, which had been brought to bear upon her to the greatest advantage, did such execution, that in a short time she struck her colours, and was boarded and taken by the marine company of light-infantry, commanded by Captain Avenue.

Brigadier-General Cleavland, who attended the batteries in person, seeing the effect of the battalion guns upon the Delaware, turned the direction of his fire to the smaller frigates and armed vessels. This forced all of them, excepting a schooner, that was disabled and driven on shore, to return to their former stations, under the protection of the fort. This fort had two floating-batteries, in the manner of hulks, of considerable strength, besides three ranges of sunken machines, which they called *chevaux de frise*, to obstruct the passage of the river; and the lowest row was three miles below the fort.

Whilst these operations were conducted upon land, the fleet under Lord Howe, after having disembarked the troops, with all the appurtenances of the army, remained at anchor in the Chesapeake, near the mouth of the river Elk, until the 13th of September; when, on receiving certain intelligence of the defeat of the enemy's army on the banks of the Brandywine, his Lordship determined to move round with the fleet to a proper anchorage in the Delaware, having previously dispatched thither Captain Hamond, in the Roebuck, with the Pearl, Liverpool, and Camilla frigates, to act as occasion might offer, in support of Sir William Howe's operations.

The progress of the fleet down the bay was much retarded by the state of the weather, and by the intricacy of the navigation, which does not admit of vessels continuing under sail in the night. Although they sailed from the mouth of the Elk on the 14th, it was therefore the 23d before they could clear the Capes of Virginia. His Lordship, leaving the greatest part of
the

the fleet there, under the care of Captain Griffith of the *Non-such*, with orders to follow him, pushed forward to the Delaware in the *Eagle*, with the *Isis* and *Vigilant*, and a small division of the transports, having on board such articles of provisions and military stores as were likely to be soonest wanted for the army. After meeting with very tempestuous weather, he arrived in that river on the evening of the 4th of October; and the division of the fleet, under Captain Griffith, joined him two days afterwards. Lord Howe got off Chester on the 6th. The ships of war and transports were anchored in the most convenient situations along the western shore, from Newcastle down towards Reedy Island; the Squadron under Captain Hamond having moved higher up the river as the army advanced.

The enemy had bestowed great labour in rendering the approach to the city of Philadelphia, by water, as difficult and dangerous as possible. They had sunk two ranges of wooden frames across the river, to obstruct the navigation up to it; and to defend these, they had erected a strong redoubt on the Jersey shore, at a place called Billing's Point, on which they had mounted some heavy cannon: and they were still employed in adding to their works. They had likewise, on the same side, at a place called Red-bank, a strong work, on which they had heavy cannon, to defend the upper range of frames; as also another, for the same purpose, on Mud Island, situated near to the Penſylvanian shore.

When lying off Chester, Captain Hamond, of the *Roebuck*, represented to Sir William Howe, that the possession of Billing's Point would put it in his power to command the lower *chevaux de frise*, or wooden frames; and that he would be thereby enabled to remove as much of them, as would give a free passage to the ships of war and transports to proceed higher up the river, to assist in reducing the enemy's forts, and in destroying their naval force. On the 29th of September, in compliance with this advice, the 10th and 42d regiments were detached against that place, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Stirling, who, on the first of October, crossed the river

with this corps from Chester, proceeded to Billing's Point, and took possession of the fortifications: the enemy's garrison, which consisted of three hundred men, having on his approach evacuated them, after spiking the cannon and setting fire to the barracks.

On the 3d of October, Sir William Howe sent the 23d regiment to Philadelphia, with orders to proceed the next day to Chester, where they were to be joined by the 10th and 42d regiments on their return from Billing's Point, and to form an escort for a convoy of provisions to the army.

General Washington, having been reinforced with fifteen hundred men from Peek's-kill, and one thousand from Virginia, and having received intelligence of the reduced state of the force under Sir William Howe, from the detachments sent to Philadelphia, Jersey, and other places, determined to attack him in his present position, before these corps could have time to rejoin his army. This measure was suddenly adopted, and conducted with great secrecy, in the hopes of surprising the royal army in their camp at German-town, about sixteen miles from Skippach creek, behind which the enemy's army was then encamped. Accordingly, General Washington put his army in motion, at six o'clock in the evening of the 3d of October, and proceeded towards German-town. This village forms, for two miles, one continued street, which the line of the British encampment crossed at right angles, near a mile from the head of it, where the second battalion of light-infantry and the 40th regiment were posted, as an advanced corps.

The British army was arranged in the following manner. Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, Major-Generals Stern, Grey, and Brigadier-General Agnew, with seven British and three Hessian battalions, and the mounted and dismounted chasseurs, were upon the left of the village, extending to the Schuylkill, with the chasseurs in front.

Major-General Grant and Brigadier-General Matthew, with the corps of guards, six battalions of British and two squadrons of dragoons, were upon the right; the first battalion of light-infantry,

infantry, and the Queen's American Rangers, being advanced in front of this wing.

At three o'clock in the morning of the 4th, the patrols discovered the enemy's approach : and upon their communicating this intelligence, the army was ordered immediately under arms. The weather was extremely favourable to the enemy, who were perfectly well acquainted with every inch of the ground which their opponents occupied : but although their plan of attack was for a considerable time concealed, the resistance of the assailed posts of the King's troops was so vigorous and spirited, that before any general measures for repelling them could be determined upon, the action was at an end.

The enemy began the battle soon after day-break, by attacking the second battalion of light-infantry and the 40th regiment, which were posted at the head of the village. They sustained the attack for a considerable time ; but being at length overpowered with numbers, all of them, except a part of the 40th regiment, retired into the village, where Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave, with six companies of the latter corps, threw himself into a large storehouse in the face of the enemy. Though surrounded by a brigade of their troops, who, aided by four pieces of cannon, immediately attacked him, he most gallantly defended it, until Major-General Grey, at the head of three battalions of the third brigade, turning his front to the village, and supported by Brigadier-General Agnew, who covered his left with the fourth brigade, by a vigorous attack, and with great slaughter, repulsed the party which had penetrated into the upper part of the town. The 5th and 55th regiments, from the right, engaging them at the same time on the other side of the village, completed their defeat in this quarter.

The regiments of Du Corps and Donop, being formed to support the left of the fourth brigade, and one battalion of Hessian grenadiers in the rear of the chasseurs, were not engaged. The precipitate flight of the enemy prevented the two first corps from entering into action ; and the success of the chaf-

seurs, in repelling all efforts against them on that side, precluded every occasion for aid from the latter.

The first battalion of light-infantry, and the piquets of the line in front of the right wing, were engaged. Soon after the attack began upon the head of the village, the piquets were obliged to fall back; but the light-infantry, being well supported by the 4th regiment, sustained the assault with such determined bravery, that the enemy could make no impression on them.

Two columns of the American army were opposite to the guards and the 27th and 28th regiments, who formed the right of the British line.

About the time when Major-General Grey had forced the enemy in the village, Major-General Grant, who was upon the right, moved up the 49th, with four pieces of cannon, to the left of the 4th regiment; and then advancing with the right wing, the enemy's left gave way, and was pursued for four or five miles through a strong country.

Earl Cornwallis, who had been early apprized at Philadelphia of the enemy's approach, put in motion two battalions of British and one of Hessian grenadiers, with a squadron of dragoons. Getting to German-town, just as the enemy had been forced out of the village, and joining Major-General Grey, he put himself at the head of the troops, and followed them eight miles on the Skippach road; but they retreated with so much expedition, that he was not able to overtake them. The grenadiers from Philadelphia, who were full of ardour, although they run most of the way to German-town, had not the good fortune to arrive in time to have a share in the action. The country in general was so strongly inclosed, and so much of it covered with wood, that none of the British dragoons had an opportunity of charging the enemy, except one small detachment posted on the right, which displayed great bravery.

Left a British officer should be suspected of giving a partial account of this battle, I beg leave to lay before the reader an extract from an author, who, on most occasions where the

Americans

Americans are concerned, seems to have had good information, and who is not a little partial to their cause. "The fog is so great, that at times you cannot see more than twenty yards before you, and frequently not more than fifty. It occasions the American parties mistaking each for the enemy, and prevents their observing the true situation of the latter. Owing hereto in a great measure, the Americans quit every part of the town; and when General Grey have passed it, advances with the British right wing upon their left, they leave the field hastily and entirely, in spite of every effort that can be made to rally them. Lord Cornwallis arrives with a squadron of light horse, just in season to join in the pursuit. Green, with his own and Stephens's division, happens to form the last column of the retreating Americans. Upon coming to two roads, and thinking it will be safest, and may prevent the enemy's advancing by either so as to get ahead of him, and that the divisions may aid each other upon occasion, he makes one division on the one road, and the second on the other. While continuing his retreat, Pulaski's cavalry, who are in his rear, being fired upon by the enemy, ride over the second division, and throw them into the utmost disorder, as they know not at first but that they are the British dragoons. The men run and scatter, and the General is apprehensive that he shall lose his artillery. He cannot collect a party sufficient to form a rear guard, till he hits upon the device of ordering the men to lay hold of each others' hands. This answers. He collects a number, and by the help of the artillery brings the enemy to give over the pursuit, after having continued it near five miles."*

The enemy retired near twenty miles from the field of battle, by several roads towards Perkyomy creek, where they continued some days collecting their scattered troops, and then took up their old ground upon Skippach creek.

In this action, they had upwards of two hundred men killed, sixteen hundred wounded, and four hundred made prisoners :
among

* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, vol. ii. page 524, &c.

among the latter, fifty-four officers ; and among the former, General Nash. The King's army had about one hundred men killed, and four hundred wounded : among the former was Brigadier-General Agnew and Lieutenant-Colonel Bird, both most deservedly regretted by the whole army. Lieutenant-Colonel Walcot, who behaved with the greatest bravery, was dangerously wounded.†

In this arduous campaign, the behaviour of the officers and men of the British army was such, as drew from Sir William Howe the highest encomiums. In his public letter of October 20th, he says, " In these several engagements, the successes attending them are far better vouchers than any words can convey, of the good conduct of the General Officers, and of the bravery of the other officers and soldiers. The fatigues of a march exceeding one hundred miles, supported with the utmost cheerfulness by all ranks, without tents, and with very little baggage, will, I hope, be esteemed as convincing proofs of the noble spirit and emulation prevailing in the army to promote his Majesty's service."

When Lord Howe arrived off Chester, he learned that the squadron of frigates, under Captain Hamond, were at anchor off Billings' Point ; where the fortifications erected by the enemy had been effectually destroyed, by Lieutenant-Colonel Stirling and the detachment under his command. This had enabled the Captain to exert his small force, with unremitting assiduity, in endeavouring to cut a passage for ships, through the first range of frames or chevaux de frise. The enemy had repeatedly attempted, by fire-rafts, gallies, and other craft, to prevent the success of his operations ; but without doing any material injury to the frigates. By a great deal of severe and difficult labour, during the whole progress of which he was exposed to perpetual danger, he at length opened a channel in the river sufficient for the large ships. Thus did he put it in the power of Lord and Sir William Howe, to pursue the proper measures for driving the enemy from the remaining fortified works,

† See Note 69.

works, which they had at great expence erected, for defending the other obstructions to the navigation up the Delaware to the city of Philadelphia. This was a service of the last importance; for while these forts were in possession of the enemy, the necessary communication between his Majesty's fleet and army was in a great measure prevented.

Their defences consisted of an inclosed work on a flat muddy island, named Fort Island, a little below the entrance of the Schuylkill, strengthened by four blockhouses; and of two floating-batteries of nine guns each, and twelve or fourteen gallies mounting heavy cannon, besides many other armed craft of lesser force, and several fire-ships. Opposite to this island, on the eastern shore at Red-bank, above Manto creek, they had also a strong redoubt, with considerable outworks; under the guns of which, their water force occasionally found protection.

In the front of these defences, to the extent of half a mile or more below the island, the channel is contracted to about the breadth of a hundred fathoms. In this narrow part, several rows of the chevaux de frise were sunk, so as to render the passage of ships impracticable: and no attempt could be made to remove the upper range of these frames, or otherwise to clear the channel, until possession was obtained of both sides of the river.

For this purpose, Sir William Howe ordered some batteries to be erected on the western shore, to dislodge the enemy from Fort Island: and, at the same time, detached Colonel Donop, with three battalions of Hessian grenadiers, the regiment of Mirbach, and the infantry chasseurs, to attack the enemy's post at Red-bank, where they had about eight hundred men intrenched. On the 21st of October, this detachment, under the direction of Captain Clayton, crossed the Delaware in flat-boats from Philadelphia to Cooper's ferry, which lies directly opposite to the city. The Colonel marched a few miles that day; and on the 22d, in the afternoon, came before Red-bank. He immediately made the best disposition of his troops,
and

and in the most gallant manner led them on to the assault. They carried an extensive outwork, from which they drove the enemy into an interior intrenchment, which could not be forced without ladders, being eight or nine feet high, with a parapet boarded and fraised. After repeated attempts to dislodge the Americans, they were obliged to desist; having sustained considerable loss in officers and men in the attack, and having been also much galled by the floating-batteries and galleys.

In this assault, Colonel Donop was mortally wounded: Lieutenant-Colonel Minningerode was also wounded, and the command devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Linfing. After collecting all the wounded that could be brought off, he marched that night about five miles to Cooper's ferry; and on the morning of the 23d, returned with the detachment to camp.*

It had been concerted, that the ships of war should co-operate in the fore-mentioned attack on Red-bank; and for this purpose, the Vice-Admiral had intended that the *Vigilant* should pass through a shallow and very confined channel between Hog island, (next below Fat island) and the Penysylvanian shore; and that she should arrive at her station, so as to act upon the rear and least defensible part of the work, when the troops should commence their assault. As the circumstances of the navigation, for reasons already stated, rendered it impracticable for a more formidable armament to advance in that direction, a diversion was proposed to be made at the same time by the advanced frigates, together with the *Ifis* and *Augusta*, in the eastern or main channel of the river. This was intended, both to engage the attention of the enemy at Fort island and at Red-bank, and to restrain the motions of their galleys and other armed craft, which had been accustomed, on discovering their danger from our batteries on the western shore, to retire under the protection of their guns at Red-bank.

The wind continued from the northward for several successive days, which prevented the *Vigilant* from proceeding to her station

* See Note 70.

station at the time intended. The *Augusta*, *Roebuck*, *Liverpool*, and *Pearl*, were nevertheless ordered, on the 22d, to go above the first line of the *chevaux de frise*, that they might be in readiness for such service as they should be able to render, when *Red-bank* should be attacked. Captain Reynolds being senior officer, commanded the advanced squadron.

As soon as it was perceived, in the evening of the 22d, a little before the close of day, that Colonel Donop had begun his attack upon *Red-bank*, Captain Reynolds with his squadron, (to which the *Merlin* had been added) slipped their anchors, and advanced as they lay, with the flood-tide to second the attack of the troops, who were then seen to be warmly engaged. Unhappily, however, owing to a change in the natural course of the river, which may be attributed to the obstructions industriously fixed in its channel, the *Augusta* and *Merlin* grounded, at some distance below the second line of the *chevaux de frise*: and the fresh westerly wind, which then greatly prevailed, checking the rise of the tide, they could not be got afloat on the subsequent flood.

The frigates, although the guns of the enemy's galleys had for some time been chiefly pointed at them, endeavoured to continue the diversion in favour of the detachment from the army; but the night advanced, and as the troops were repulsed, the firing ceased.

The 23d exhibited an active scene. Soon after day-break, the enemy perceiving the situation of the *Augusta* and *Merlin*, began an incessant fire on them from their works, floating-batteries, and shipping: but fortunately, by their keeping too much aloof with their water force, no part of which was brought nearer than random shot distance, the injury which it did was very inconsiderable; and by the alertness and spirit of the officers and seamen, who left the transports and ships of war, and attended in the boats of the fleet, the efforts of four fire-ships, which had been directed against the *Augusta*, were rendered ineffectual.

The *Isis* was at this time warping through between the lower
chevaux

chevaux de frize. Empty transports had been ordered up from the fleet, and other preparations had been made for lightening the *Augusta*, when by some accident, most probably occasioned by the wads of her guns, she took fire abaft, and the flames spread with such rapidity, that all endeavours to extinguish them were ineffectual. The men were therefore taken out of her except a few, who perished when she blew up. Among this unfortunate number were the Second Lieutenant Baldock, the Chaplain, and Gunner. The sailors displayed the most resolute exertions in rescuing so many of the crew as were saved.

When the destruction of the *Augusta* appeared inevitable, the Vice-Admiral was under a necessity of ordering the frigates to withdraw, that they might be secured from the effects of the explosion: and as the *Merlin* could not be rescued from that danger, her crew were commanded to leave her, and to set her on fire. The *Isis* dropped down nearer to Billing's Point.

As the wind continued for some time to prevent the *Vigilant* from passing up the river, by the only channel that was then practicable, to attack the rear of the enemy's works on Fort Island, both the seamen and land-forces availed themselves of this opportunity, to prepare both for offensive and defensive operations. While the army were busied in erecting batteries, and in getting all things in readiness for the attack of Fort Island, a detachment of the officers and seamen of the ships of war and transports, under the conduct of Captain Duncan of the *Eagle*, was employed, with unremitting fatigue and perseverance, in conveying provisions, artillery, and stores, to the river Schuylkill, between Fort island and the Penysylvanian shore. Six twenty-four pounders from the *Eagle*, and four thirty-two pounders from the *Somerset*, with the requisite proportions of ammunition, were removed, and mounted on different batteries erected by order of Sir William Howe. Owing to a variety of difficulties, which occurred in constructing these, on ground very unfavourable for such operations, they could not be opened till the 10th of November. The wind at last proving fair, on the 15th of that month, the *Vigilant* armed ship, carrying sixteen

fixteen twenty-four pounders, and a hulk, with three twenty-four pounders, commanded by Lieutenant Botham of the *Eagle*, got up to the fort, through the channel between Province and Hog islands; and, assisted by the *Roebuck*, *Pearl*, *Liverpool*, and *Cornwallis* galley, and some smaller armed vessels, did very great service against the enemy's batteries. The *Isis*, being placed as advantageously as the circumstances of the navigation of the eastern channel would permit, performed, against the fort and galleys, important services, which reflected great honour and credit on Captain Cornwallis and his well-disciplined crew. Though the *Somerset* could not be brought so far up the river as the *Isis*, and it required much caution to get her into a station in which she could be useful, her guns had a powerful effect upon the enemy. Besides the fort, and its contiguous batteries and blockhouses, two floating-batteries, seventeen galleys and armed vessels, and a battery of heavy cannon on the Jersey shore, incessantly played upon the besiegers, who withstood this terrible cannonade with the most determined resolution. But when the ships of war, with the *Vigilant* and the hulk, began, in conjunction with the land batteries, to open their fire upon the enemy, they did such execution, as to convince them speedily, that all their efforts to save the place would be ineffectual. Dreading the consequences of an assault, they evacuated Fort Island in the night of the 15th: and the grenadiers of the guards took possession of it at day-break on the 16th.*

Sir William Howe expressed, on this occasion, great satisfaction with the behaviour of the troops under his command: and in his letters to Europe, declared his sense of the arduous services so cheerfully performed by the naval Commanders, officers, and seamen, whose gallantry had contributed so much to the reduction of the enemy's works.

The free access which the insurgents had to their fort, by means of their water force, served in no small degree to protract its defence. It enabled them, when any of their guns

were

* See Note 71.

were rendered useless, to replace them by sound ones during the night; so that, in the morning, their fire was as complete as if no such accident had occurred: and it put it in their power, so frequently to relieve the garrison by fresh troops from the Jersey shore, as to divide the fatigues of the siege among their whole army.

Their loss in this conflict, amounted to near four hundred men killed and wounded; whereas the loss of the King's forces, by sea and land, was only thirteen killed and thirty wounded.

During these transactions, the General received the disagreeable intelligence of the unfortunate conclusion of the operations of the northern army, under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne; which distressed him exceedingly. As all thoughts of co-operation with that army were now at an end, he resolved to secure the free navigation of the Delaware, and to reduce the fort at Red-bank, before any reinforcement from General Gates could join General Washington; as such a junction might prevent him from attempting these operations, by obliging him to keep his whole force in Pennsylvania. He therefore detached a corps to Chester, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, who were landed on the 19th at Billing-port; where they were joined by a corps under Major-General Sir Thomas Wilson, having with him Brigadier-Generals Leslie and Pattison, who had arrived a few days before from New York.

His Lordship having made the necessary arrangements, marched to attack the enemy intrenched at Red-bank. Upon his approach, they spiked their cannon, evacuated the post, and retired to Mount Holly; where they joined a corps of observation detached from their main army, and encamped at White Marsh. His Lordship found here a considerable quantity of stores:† and having demolished the intrenchments, he returned with his corps by Gloucester on the 27th, and rejoined the army at Philadelphia.

The enemy's shipping, having now no longer any protection
from

† See Note 72.

from their forts, endeavoured to make their escape up the river. A ship or two, and several of their galleys, on the night of the 19th, which proved very favourable for such a design, passed by the town of Philadelphia unperturbed. The remainder of their naval force made the same attempt on the night of the 20th; but being discovered, they were intercepted by the Delaware frigate, commanded by Lieutenant Watt of the *Roe-buck*,* who attacked them with such vigour, that only three or four of their galleys effected their escape. The rest were obliged to fall down the river to their old station. Finding it impossible to elude the vigilance of the British, the rebels set fire to their whole fleet, which then consisted of two xebecs, the two floating batteries, and several ships, besides fire vessels, and other small craft, amounting in all to seventeen in number. The forts and shipping, which had hitherto protected the obstacles to the navigation of the river, being now dismantled or destroyed, such openings were made in the different ranges of sunken frames, as admitted the small ships of war to anchor off the town, and the transports and storeships to lie alongside the quays of Philadelphia; this was of the greatest service to the army, which still kept the field.

General Washington, having received a reinforcement of four thousand men and some artillery from the northern rebel army, drew near to Philadelphia, and encamped at White Marsh. Sir William Howe, therefore, put his army in motion on the 4th of December, and next morning took post on Chestnut-hill, in front of the right of the enemy. Soon after this, they sent a corps of at least a thousand men, to attack Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, who was posted in front of the British line with two battalions of light-infantry; but the insurgents were so im-

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mediately

* Lieutenant James Watt had been appointed to the command of the *Delaware*, by Captain Hammond, before Lord Howe arrived from Chesapeake bay; and his Lordship was so well pleased with his behaviour, that he continued him in the command, and took the *Delaware* into the service as an armed ship. Captain Watt, a few years after, lost his life in the service of his country in the *East Indies*, being then Captain of the *Sultan* of 74 guns.

mediately routed by the first onset of the second battalion, that only a part of the first could come in for a share of the action. The insurgents left between thirty and forty killed and wounded, and had a Brigadier-General made prisoner.

After reconnoitring the enemy's right, and doing all that lay in his power to bring on a general engagement, without directly attacking their intrenchments, Sir William Howe marched at one o'clock in the morning of the 7th, the van being commanded by Earl Cornwallis, and the main body by Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, and took post on Edge-hill, a mile from the enemy's left. On this hill, the van guard found a corps of a thousand men, chiefly composed of riflemen from the enemy's northern army, posted with cannon. Lord Cornwallis immediately attacked and defeated this corps, which lost a considerable number of officers, and with difficulty saved its cannon. The thickness of the wood in which the rebels were posted, concealed them, at the commencement of the action, from the view of the light-infantry, who, owing to this circumstance, had one officer killed and three wounded, and between thirty and forty men killed and wounded, by the first fire which they received. Various other skirmishes took place, in which the enemy were always defeated. That he might bring on a general engagement to advantage, Sir William Howe explored their left, but found it equally strong with their right. Perceiving that no temptation could induce General Washington to quit his present position, and being unwilling to expose his troops longer to the weather, at such an inclement season, without tents or baggage of any kind for officers or men, he returned on the 8th to Philadelphia; and met with no molestation on his march. Lord Cornwallis, who commanded the rear guard, did not quit Edge-hill until near four o'clock in the afternoon; and arrived in camp about nine that evening.

Another skirmish took place on the 11th of December. Lord Cornwallis, with Major-General Grant under his command, passed the Schuylkill at day-break, with a strong corps and the waggons

waggons of the army, to collect forage for the winter supply. The rebels having quitted their camp at White Marsh some hours before his Lordship began his march, the head of their army fell in with his detachment, at a bridge which they had thrown over the Schuylkill, near to Matson's ford, about three miles below Swede's ford, and fifteen miles distant from Philadelphia. Over this bridge the enemy had passed eight hundred men; who were immediately dispersed by his Lordship's advanced corps, and part of them were obliged to recross it. This excited such an alarm in their army, as induced them to break down the bridge. His Lordship proceeded to forage without meeting with any interruption, and returned to camp about nine o'clock the same evening.

Soon after this, Sir William Howe detached the whole of the 71st regiment, consisting of three battalions, and the regiment of Mirbach, to reinforce Sir Henry Clinton at New York, and then put his army into winter-quarters in the town of Philadelphia. The rebel army, excepting a detachment of twelve hundred men at Wilmington, kept the field during the whole winter, and were hutted in the woods near to Valley Forge, upon the Schuylhill, about twenty-six miles from Philadelphia, in a very strong position. This ground most certainly was well known to General Howe, who either occupied it, or was very near it, when he crossed the Schuylkill on his route to Philadelphia, and had there been a probability of attacking General Washington with any prospect of success, he would certainly have done it. The care with which the distresses of the rebel soldiers were concealed was truly admirable. When General Washington marched his army to take post at Valley Forge, one-third of the men who composed it were in the greatest want of the most necessary articles of cloathing, particularly shoes and breeches; and were disabled from doing duty. Short as the distance was, they suffered very much in the march. The weather was intensely cold, the ground covered with snow, and the route of the army could have been traced by the stains of blood which proceeded from the feet of the

bare-footed soldiers.* But this most essential information, never reached the ears of the British General, until it was too late for him to avail himself of it. The want of proper intelligence, and the frequent misrepresentations of the friends to the British cause in America, were productive of fatal effects to Government on both sides of the Atlantic.

These conjunct operations of the principal fleet and army in America, having in this manner terminated for the season; it remains to detail such naval transactions as occurred in other places.

A small squadron, under the command of Commodore Hotham in the *Preston*, sailed from Rhode Island on the 13th of January, on a cruize to the southward. On the 26th, they got into Lynn-haven bay, within the great bay of Chesapeake, near James's river, Virginia, where they took a small sloop from St. Eustatia, having on board forty hogheads of rum, and ballasted with salt. The Commodore proceeded up the bay to Point Comfort, where he perceived a rebel privateer, a ship, and several sloops. On seeing the *Preston* making towards them, they got under way, ran the ship on shore, and pushed with the other vessels into shoal water. The *Preston* came to an anchor; and, as she hoisted no colours, the enemy sent a privateer sloop to reconnoitre, and, if possible, to learn whether she was a friend or foe. Upon the sloop coming within proper distance, the Commodore ordered some guns to be fired at her, when she struck, and was taken. He then put a Lieutenant with forty seamen, together with an officer and twenty-four marines, on board of the prize, with orders to attack the privateer and ship: which was immediately done. The privateer made off: but the ship was boarded and carried. She proved to be the *Farmer*, from Baltimore for Nantz, laden with six hundred hogheads of tobacco; a new ship, with a crew of fifteen men. On the following day, the *Preston's* boats took a small rebel vessel, which had on board ten barrels of flour and 150l. of their paper currency.

Commodore

* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, vol. iii. pages 11 and 12.

Commodore Hotham then proceeded to the Delaware, at the mouth of which he took several small vessels of little value, which he ordered to be sunk: but before he could reach his station, he was forced to sea by a strong gale, and could not regain the land for near three weeks, when he at last got into the river, and there came to an anchor. The next day he perceived a large vessel standing in, which, on descrying the Preston, steered up another channel, where there was not sufficient depth of water to enable that ship to follow her. He therefore dispatched his tender after her; on the approach of which, her crew, after endeavouring to run her ashore, abandoned her: but his men boarded her in time to save her from being destroyed. She had come from France, and was laden with gunpowder, arms, lead, and other articles, for the use of the rebels. Her cargo originally cost 30,000*l*. On the 15th of March, when cruising off the mouth of the Delaware, he took two schooners, the one French, the other American, both laden with rum and molasses. The Commodore then sent all the prizes, under convoy of the Daphne, to New York. Next day he gave chase to a brig, and took her. She had come from Philadelphia, was bound to Cape François, belonged to a Frenchman, and had a cargo of upwards of seven hundred barrels of flour, and was immediately sent to New York. Two days afterwards, he chased and took another brig. She was from Nantucket, and had on board only ten hogheads of sugar, and fifty barrels of oil. The sugar was taken out, but the oil was sunk with the vessel. On the following day, a small American vessel, laden with flour, was taken; but as it blew very hard, she was sunk: soon after which, the Preston returned to New York.

Sir George Collier, commanding his Majesty's ship *Rainbow*, being senior naval officer at the port of Halifax in Nova Scotia, having received advice, that on the 16th of June, a party of the rebels, supposed to be about two hundred men, had landed in the river St. John's, ordered Captain Hawker, in the *Mermaid* of twenty-eight guns, together with the *Gage* armed

sloop, and Nova Scotia armed schooner, to proceed with the utmost expedition into that river. Major-General Maffey sent, at the same time, a detachment of the Royal Highland Emigrant regiment on board the Mermaid. Sir George also directed the Vulture sloop, and Hope schooner, from the basin of Minas and Annapolis, to join Captain Hawker; and a detachment of soldiers, under the command of Brigade-Major Stedholm, (who likewise was to have the command of all the parties of the land-forces employed on this service,) was ordered from Fort Cumberland to co-operate in this expedition.

On the 27th of June, Captain Hawker arrived in St. John's road, and he learned, that the Vulture sloop was in the river. He soon received a letter from her Captain, informing him, that the enemy had taken possession of the town, fired upon his boats, and wounded six of his men in attempting to land. Upon seeing the Mermaid come to an anchor in the road, they quitted the town, and posted themselves in the woods round the harbour. Neither the Hope, nor any of the armed vessels with the troops, had as yet arrived from Fort Cumberland: but Captain Hawker, nevertheless, thinking that he had a sufficient force to attack them, made a disposition for that purpose. At this critical time, Major Stedholm arrived with his detachment, landed them, took the command of the troops, and marched into the woods in quest of the rebels. He soon found them, and attacked them so briskly, that they were immediately put to flight; but being better acquainted with the country than their pursuers, they made their escape by gaining their whale-boats, and pushing up the river above the falls. The loss on either side was inconsiderable.

The American Congress, having established a small naval force, ordered Commodore Manley, with some of their ships, to sea on a cruise. Having failed in consequence of these orders, and being on the 27th of June off the banks of Newfoundland, the Hancock and Boston frigates, of thirty-two guns each, fell in with his Majesty's frigate Fox, commanded by Captain Patrick Fotheringham. They immediately attack-

ed

ed her, and in the midst of a very warm engagement which ensued, the Fox took fire in the main-chains, owing to some of the wads of her guns having lodged there. Upon observing this, the Americans ceased to fire, until the flames were extinguished: when the battle was renewed with greater keenness than before. After an action of two hours, the Fox was reduced to a mere wreck; and unable to contend any longer against so superior a force, she struck, having lost a good many men. Among the killed was the Honourable James John Napier, Lieutenant of Marines.

On the 6th of July, as Commodore Manley was conducting his prize to Boston, he fell in with his Majesty's ship *Rainbow*, commanded by Sir George Collier, having in company the *Victor* brig. Sir George immediately gave chase to the rebel ships and their prize; which, mistaking the *Rainbow* for a line of battle ship, stood from him. He neared the enemy considerably; and at day-break on the 7th, got sight of them again, with a sloop in company, that had joined them in the night. At this time, they were about five or six miles ahead of the *Rainbow*, which continued to chase, and was gaining on them fast. They then quitted the sloop and set her on fire; the three war ships going off in a regular line of battle ahead, and setting top-gallant-royals, and every sail that could be useful to them.

A little after six, another sail was discovered from the *Rainbow*, standing towards the enemy's ships. Though she hoisted British colours, and fired two guns to leeward, as she did not answer the private signal notwithstanding, great doubts were entertained whether she was one of Commodore Manley's fleet. In chasing she crossed the *Rainbow* at four miles distance, being on contrary tacks; but as soon as she could fetch the wakes of the enemy's ships, she put about. About ten, the rebels ships went away lasking: and a little before eleven, several shot were exchanged between the sternmost of them and the stranger, which proved to be his Majesty's ship *Flora*, commanded by Captain (now Admiral) Brisbane. Soon after that, they stood on dif-

ferent courses; and some more firing ensued at different times, as they manœuvred, in the course of the day. The *Flora* followed the ship that she was most likely to overtake; Sir George Collier continued in pursuit of the largest, and by means of night-glasses kept sight of her during the night; at day-break on the 8th got within a mile of her, and at four o'clock began to fire the bow-chace, and gave occasional broadsides as his guns could be brought to bear. At half past eight, the *Rainbow* got within hail of the chace; and Sir George informed them, that if they expected quarter, they must strike immediately. Mr. Manley took a few minutes to consider what he should do: and during this pause, the breeze freshened a little. Edeavouring to avail himself of this circumstance, by setting some of his steering sails on the other side, in the hope of effecting his escape, a broadside was fired into his ship, and he immediately struck his colours. Thus, after a chace of thirty-six hours, was taken the *Handcock* frigate, appertaining to Congress, mounting thirty-two guns, mostly twelve pounders, and having two hundred and twenty-nine men. Her complement was two hundred and ninety; but the remainder were on board of the *Fox*. Mr. Haynes, First Lieutenant of the *Rainbow*, was sent to take possession of the prize, in which he found Captain Fotheringham of the *Fox*, with forty of his crew.* The *Handcock* was
a large

* Captain Fotheringham, soon after his arrival in England, was, on the 3d of March, 1778, tried for the loss of his Majesty's ship the *Fox*, by a Court-martial, assembled on board of the *Centaur* in Portsmouth harbour. Sir Thomas Pye, Admiral of the White, was President; and Captains John Evans, Andrew Wilkinson, Charles Middleton, Richard King, Jonathan Faulkner, Mark Robinson, Richard Edwards, John Elliot, Digby Dent, Honourable Frederick Maitland, Honourable John Leveson Gower, and George Bowyer, were Members of the Court. The sentence was as follows: That it appears to this Court, that Captain Patrick Fotheringham acted in every respect as a seaman and an officer, in conducting and defending his Majesty's ship *Fox*, under his command: That it appears to this Court, that he did not give her up, until she was become defenceless and unmanageable; and then, with the concurrence of the other officers. That any further defence of the *Fox* would have been ineffectual, and would only have sacrificed the lives of the people; and that the rest of the officers, and the
ship's

a large frigate, quite new, and although foul, it was owing chiefly to mismanagement of her Captain, that the *Rainbow* came up with her, as she proved a very swift sailer. She was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the name of the *Iris*.

Sir George Collier proceeded with his prize to Halifax, where, on his arrival, he had the pleasure to find the *Flora*, which had reached that port a few days before him. and brought with her the *Fox* frigate, which she had retaken. The enemy's ship that effected her escape was the *Boston*.

The province of Nova Scotia being threatened with an invasion from the eastern parts of New England, Sir George Collier, in the *Rainbow*, accompanied with the *Blonde*, *Mermaid*, and *Hope* sloop, under his command, sailed from Halifax to Machias. He arrived there on the 13th of August, and next morning, though opposed by a brisk fire of small arms from each side of the river, and from the fort, he landed the marines from the war ships. They advanced, and after a trifling resistance, took and destroyed the fort, together with three magazines, containing flour, rice, tanned leather, hides, shoes, ammunition, and other articles; also several small vessels, and a corn mill, with a large quantity of corn. The war ships took a sloop of eighty tons, laden with lumber. Sir George Collier left the *Blonde* at Machias, in hopes of intercepting some vessels expected there from Boston, with stores and provisions: and proceeded along the coast of New Hampshire and New England. While on that service, he took and destroyed a ship ready to sail from Sheepscut river, with a cargo of masts for France; also three brigs, eleven sloops, and fifteen schooners.

The *Apollo* of thirty-two guns, Captain Pownall, took the
Freedom

ship's company, did every thing in their power in defending and preserving the ship against so superior a force. That the Court do, therefore, adjudge Captain Fotheringham, his officers and people, to be honourably acquitted, and they are hereby honourably acquitted accordingly.

Signed by all the Court as above mentioned; and also by Thomas Binns, Deputy Judge Advocate.

Freedom brig privateer of Boston, of twelve guns, and a hundred and one men. Many of the cruising ships were very successful, particularly the Brune, Captain Ferguson, who took some ships of considerable value. The Milford of twenty-eight guns, Captain Ford, besides four privateers and upwards of fifty trading vessels, took the Cabot, an American vessel of war of sixteen guns, which was purchased by Government, and added to the British Navy.

On this station, the Royal Navy sustained several losses in ships, officers, and men, exclusive of the loss of the *Augusta* and *Merlin* already mentioned. The *Repulse* of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Henry Davis, having been on a cruise off the Bermudian islands, where she had been very successful, was unfortunately overtaken by a violent gale on her return to New York, in which she foundered, and all on board perished.

On the 10th of November, the *Syren* of twenty-eight guns, Captain Tobias Furneaux, was wrecked on Judith Point, Rhode Island; the crew were saved.

The *Liverpool* of twenty-eight guns, Captain Henry Bellew, was wrecked on Long Island; and the *Cruizer* sloop, Captain Parry, was wrecked on the coast of South Carolina, but the crews of both ships were saved.

NEWFOUNDLAND STATION.

VICE-ADMIRAL MONTAGU commanded his Majesty's ships and vessels on this station.* The armed brig *Penguin*, of ten guns, ten swivels, and forty-five men, commanded by Lieutenant John Lloyd, on the 15th of August, off the Banks of Newfoundland, fell in with a rebel brig privateer; and, after a smart action of an hour and a half, forced her to strike. She was called the *Retaliation*, belonged to Beverley, mounted twelve guns, (four of which were six pounders) eleven swivels, and two organ guns; and had a crew of sixty-six men, of which

* See Note 73.

which two were killed, and her Commander and eleven men were wounded. The Penguin had one man killed; and the master, a midshipman, and five men, wounded. Both vessels were much damaged in their hulls, sails, and rigging.

The Bienfaitant of sixty-four guns, Captain Macbride, took the American Tartar, a privateer belonging to the rebels, of twenty-four guns, and two hundred men.

The Vestal of thirty-two guns, Captain James Shirley, and Pegasus of eighteen guns, Captain Hamilton Gore, on their voyage to this station, both foundered, and all on board perished.

WEST INDIES.—LEEWARD ISLANDS.

On this station, his Majesty's ships were commanded by Vice-Admiral Young.†

The Beaver sloop of fourteen six-pounders, and one hundred and twenty-five men, commanded by Captain James Jones, near the island of St. Lucia, fell in with and fought a rebel privateer very closely, for three quarters of an hour, when she struck. She proved to be the Oliver Cromwell of twenty-four guns, fourteen of which were nine pounders, ten swivels, ten cohorns, and one hundred and fifty men. In the action she had twenty men killed, and as many wounded; and her rigging, masts, and sails, much damaged. On board the Beaver, only two men were wounded. Soon after the capture of this vessel, Captain Jones returned to England; and, for his good conduct and bravery, was promoted to the command of the Penelope of twenty-eight guns.

The homeward-bound trade from this part of the West Indies, under convoy of his Majesty's ship Camel of twenty-two guns, (nine pounders) commanded by the Hon. Captain William Finch, and the Druid and Weasel sloops,‡ commanded by Captains Peter Carteret and Samuel Warren, on the 4th of September, in N. latitude 40° 33', W. longitude 50° 17',

was,

† See Note 74.

‡ The Druid of fourteen and Weasel of sixteen guns.

was chased by the *Raleigh*,* a rebel frigate of great force. The fleet was at that time much dispersed. The frigate steered for the *Druid*, which was five miles astern of the *Camel*, in the rear of the fleet, repeating the signal for the ships to go under the *Camel*'s stern, and obliging them to bear down. The *Weasel* was employed on the same duty to leeward, and almost out of sight. As soon as Captain Carteret perceived that the *Raleigh* was in chase of the fleet, he prepared his ship for action, and turned all hands to quarters. At five o'clock she came within pistol shot of the *Druid*, hailed her, desired her to strike to the American flag, hoisted her colours, and began to engage. The first broadside mortally wounded Captain Carteret, and killed his Master. The command then devolved on Lieutenant John Bouchier, who engaged the enemy with great spirit and resolution. At six o'clock, she made sail ahead. The *Druid* did the same, and Lieutenant Bouchier endeavoured to keep her broadside on; but his rigging and sails were so much damaged as to be almost useless. As her head-sails only were of service, the *Druid* edged way, and kept the *Raleigh* nearly on her bow, till twenty minutes past six. She then had the wind abast, sheered off, hauled down her colours, and made sail. Lieutenant Bouchier now attempted to wear the *Druid*, and rake the enemy; but his rigging was so entirely disabled, that he could not execute his intention. He therefore endeavoured to pursue her: but having four feet ten inches of water in the hold, and his masts, yards, and sails, in a most shattered condition, he was obliged to desist; and at half past seven o'clock to bring to, in order to repair the shot-holes between wind and water, and to clear the wreck and pump the ship.

About this time, another war ship† appeared, and joined the *Raleigh*. The *Camel* and *Weasel* gave chase to both; but the enemy's ships being clean, they could not come up with them. They therefore returned to protect the fleet, which had been much exposed for three days and three nights, during which

* Of thirty-two guns, nine and twelve pounders.

† The *Alfred* of twenty guns, nine pounders.

which the rebel ships had kept in sight. The Captains, however, managed so well, that the enemy's ships, notwithstanding their superior strength, did not take one of the fleet committed to their care.

In the action the *Druid* lost her Captain, whose left thigh was shattered by a shot; he underwent amputation, but died the morning of the 5th: the Master and five men were killed, and four died of their wounds in a few days; Lieutenant James Nicolson of the marines, Mr. Polson, surgeon's mate, and nineteen men, were wounded. The Lords of the Admiralty were so well pleased with the gallant behaviour of Lieutenant Bourchier, that they confirmed him in the command of the *Druid*.

The *Antigua* sloop, commanded by Lieutenant Billy Douglas,* fell in with the *Blacksnake* privateer, of twelve guns and sixty men, which he took after a most desperate engagement: for which gallant action, he was soon after made a Master and Commander.

WEST INDIES.—JAMAICA STATION.

VICE-ADMIRAL GAYTON commanded his Majesty's ships on this station.† He had appointed Mr. Jordan, an acting Lieutenant, to the command of the *Racehorse* schooner of ten guns, (three pounders) eight swivels, and four muskettoons, with thirty-seven men. This officer, on a cruise, fell in with a rebel privateer called the *Guest*, carrying sixteen guns and sixteen swivels, with between ninety and a hundred men, engaged her upwards of two hours, when he resolutely boarded and carried her. Her Commander had a commission from Congress, but her men were almost all French; of whom sixteen were killed, and forty wounded, in the action. On board the *Racehorse*, only one man was killed and eight wounded. The cruisers were extremely active on this station, and carried in a great number of prizes to Jamaica.

MEDITER-

* Now Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

† See Note 75.

MEDITERRANEAN.

THE squadron on this station was commanded by Vice-Admiral Man,* and the cruizers were very alert. His Majesty's frigate *Levant* of twenty-eight guns, Captain George Murray, being on a cruize in the month of June off the coast of Portugal, fell in with a rebel privateer, with a brig (her prize) in company, and immediately gave chase to them. In two hours the frigate got alongside of the privateer; when, after an action of ten minutes, in which the enemy had one man killed and three wounded, she struck: and proved to be the *Vigilant* of fourteen guns. As the weather was moderate, and as Captain Murray perceived that the brig was making off, he ordered the Lieutenant and people whom he had sent on board of the privateer, to cut all the lanyards of her shrouds and stays, in order to prevent her carrying sail, while the *Levant* pursued the brig; which, after an hour's chase, he took without opposition. She proved to be the *Mayflower*, from Lisbon bound to Bristol, and had been taken the day preceding. As soon as the prisoners were shifted, both vessels made sail towards the *Vigilant* prize, and joined in about two hours. She was soon so much repaired as to be able to make sail. On searching her papers it was found, that the Master's name was Richard Whitear, and that she had been fitted out at Dunkirk. The Captain sent both his prizes to Gibraltar, continued his cruize, and in a few days gave chase to a ship deeply laden. He soon came up with her, and on firing at her she struck. She proved to be an American vessel, called the *Pitt*, of two hundred tons burden, Edward Shears master, fitted out at Cherburg, and bound to Boston, having on board two brass mortars, one hundred and fifty swivels, bar iron, shot, musquets, &c. supposed to be worth 3000*l.* sterling.

The *Raven* sloop, on her passage from the West Indies, took and brought into Gibraltar, an American ship, called the *Vengeance*,

* See Note 76.

Vengeance, of ten carriage and six swivel guns, with a valuable cargo, consisting of rice, tobacco, indigo, &c.

NAVAL TRANSACTIONS AT OR NEAR HOME.

THE Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having received information, that a rebel ship of war was soon to sail from France with dispatches for Congress, gave orders to Lieutenant John Bazely,* commanding his Majesty's cutter *Alert* of ten four pounders, ten swivels, and sixty men, to put to sea and endeavour to intercept her. On the 19th of September, at five o'clock in the morning, Mr. Bazely had the good fortune to get sight of her, W. by S. fourteen leagues from Ushant, two days after she had sailed from Morlaix. He immediately gave chase; at half past seven got close alongside of her, and commenced an action which lasted until ten, when she bore up, and made sail. As soon as he had got his rigging somewhat repaired, he renewed the chase, got up with his opponent again about one o'clock, when the action recommenced and continued very hot until half past two, when she struck. She proved to be the *Lexington* a rebel brig of war, armed with sixteen guns, twelve swivels, and eighty-four men, commanded by one Johnson. She had seven men killed, eleven wounded, and her rigging much cut. On board the *Alert* only two men were killed, and three wounded, one of them mortally. For this piece of good service, Mr. Bazely was made a Master and Commander. The enemy, before they struck, threw the dispatches overboard.

Several of the cruising ships of the line fell in with French ships of war of the same force. They frequently spoke to each other; but as few or no compliments passed on such occasions, it was generally conjectured that there was little friendship subsisting between the two Courts.

On the 11th of November, a small squadron, under the command of Captain Digby, was sent on a cruise to the westward.

* Now Vice-Admiral of the White.

ward.* They returned to England on the 26th of December.

On the 27th of that month, another small squadron,† under Captain Samuel Hood, was sent also to cruize to the westward, where they remained till the middle of January, and then came home.

1778.

THE narrative of the naval and military transactions of this year requires extraordinary attention, and necessarily involves some political discussions, explanatory of the causes which led Great Britain into a war, first with France, and then with Spain.

The French nation had uniformly shewn a very great partiality to the cause of the American colonies, from the moment that their disputes with Britain became serious. Large subscriptions‡ had been made among the wealthy in that country, for purchasing fire-arms, cannon, and military stores of all kinds, which were conveyed to America, to strengthen the colonists against the mother-country. This disposition was secretly encouraged by the Court, and by M. de Sartine, the Minister of Marine, who fostered it with care. Besides the general intention of reducing the very great prosperity of Britain, which all the maritime states regarded with some degree of jealousy, the French Court and nation probably had a view, in the event of a separation between her and her colonies, to secure to themselves a preference in the commerce with America, by establishing an early claim to her friendship.

France now began to arm in all her principal seaports, without having any reasonable pretext for such conduct.— This sufficiently indicated her hostility to Great Britain, already considerably weakened by the bad success which had hitherto attended her arms, and by the necessity of continuing to employ a large proportion of her forces abroad. The American

* See Note 77.

† See Note 78.

‡ Said to be upwards of 200,000*l*.

ican Congress had sent several confidential men to Europe, with authority to assume public characters, and to act as their agents. Dr. Franklin and some others were known to be at Paris, and the French Court connived at their residence in that city. None of these occurrences could escape the observation of such an able Minister as Lord Stormont, then Ambassador at the Court of France, who failed not to give the British Ministry the earliest and best intelligence on the subject. By some strange fatality, however, the important information and useful suggestions which he sent were disregarded; while the false professions of an insidious Court were credited.

Such was the state of affairs with respect to France: and no account either of Sir William Howe's successes in Pennsylvania, or of the disasters of the northern army, under General Burgoyne, had reached England on the 20th of November, 1777, when Parliament met, and both Houses were addressed by his Majesty, in the following Speech from the Throne:

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It is a great satisfaction to me, that I can have recourse to
 “ the wisdom and support of my Parliament, in this conjunc-
 “ ture, when the continuance of the rebellion in North Ame-
 “ rica demands our most serious attention. The powers which
 “ you have intrusted me with, for the suppression of this re-
 “ volt, have been faithfully exerted: and I have a just con-
 “ fidence, that the conduct and courage of my officers, and
 “ the spirit and intrepidity of my forces, both by sea and land,
 “ will, under the blessing of Divine Providence, be attended
 “ with important success: but as I am persuaded that you will
 “ see the necessity of preparing for such further operations, as
 “ the contingencies of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels
 “ may render expedient, I am, for that purpose, pursuing the
 “ proper measures for keeping my land-forces complete to their
 “ present establishment: and if I should have occasion to in-
 “ crease them, by contracting any new engagements, I rely on
 “ your zeal and public spirit to enable me to make them good.

" I receive repeated assurances from foreign powers of
 " pacific dispositions : my own cannot be doubted : but
 " time, when the armaments in the ports of France and
 " continue, I have thought it advisable to make a considerable
 " augmentation to my naval force, as well to keep my
 " doms in a respectable state of security, as to provide
 " adequate protection for the extensive commerce of my
 " subjects : and as on the one hand, I am determined, that
 " peace of Europe shall not be disturbed by me ; so on
 " other, I will always be a faithful guardian of the honour
 " the Crown of Great Britain."

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be
 " before you. The various services, which I have mentioned
 " you, will undoubtedly require large supplies ; and nothing
 " could relieve my mind from the concern, which I feel for the
 " heavy charge which they must bring on my faithful people
 " but the perfect conviction that they are necessary for the welfare
 " and essential interests of my kingdoms."

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I will steadily pursue the measures in which we are engaged,
 " ed, for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination,
 " tion, which, with the blessing of God I will maintain through
 " the several parts of my dominions : but I shall ever be watchful
 " ful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the
 " blood of my subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable
 " from a state of war. And I still hope, that the deluded and
 " unhappy multitude will return to their allegiance : and that the
 " the remembrance of what they once enjoyed, the regret of
 " what they have lost, and the feelings of what they now suffer,
 " fer, under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will rekindle
 " in their hearts, a spirit of loyalty to their Sovereign, and of
 " attachment to their mother-country ; and that they will enable
 " able me, with the concurrence and support of my Parliament,
 " ment.

powerment, to accomplish, what I shall consider as the greatest
ted: but happiness of my life, and the greatest glory of my reign, the
ance and restoration of peace, order, and confidence, to my American
a colonies."

keep The addresses in each House were moved for in the usual stile :
to present were not carried without long and violent debates. In the
ce of House of Commons, there were for the address two hundred
ined, and forty-three ; against it, eighty-six. In the House of Lords
e ; so it was strenuously opposed, particularly by the Earl of Chatham,
he house, among other things, averred, " that our coasts were
daily insulted ; that our merchant ships were destitute of
protection ; that we had not above five thousand troops in
Britain ; not more in Ireland ; and not above twenty ships of
war to be the line : manned and fit for service : while, on the contrary,
mentioned our formidable and inveterate enemies, the two leading
and naval branches of the House of Bourbon, had a powerful navy,
feel in their coasts lined with troops on all sides, and their inten-
ful positions were known to be hostile." These assertions drew a re-
or the ally from the Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord of the Ad-
miralty. He asserted, that there were then, forty-two ships of
the line in commission in Great Britain ; that thirty-five of them
were completely manned, and ready for sea at a moment's warn-
ing ; that with respect to the other seven, the complements of
which were not yet completed, there were but two thousand
four hundred seamen and seven hundred marines wanting : that
in America, there were ninety-three ships and vessels of war,
of which six were of the line : and that our whole naval force,
fit for actual service, consisted of fifty-four ships of the line,
and nearly two hundred frigates, sloops, and vessels of war ; a
force superior to what France and Spain, if they were so in-
clined, which however he was sure they were not, could bring
against us. The address was carried by eighty-four contents, and
thirteen proxies ; not-contents, twenty-eight.

Mr. Buller, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty,
moved, that sixty-thousand seamen, including eleven thousand
eight hundred and twenty-nine marines, should be employed

for the year 1778: and the grants of this session of Parliament, for the navy, amounted to 5,001,895l. 16s.

It was not until the 3d of December, that the Secretary of State, for the American Department, was forced to acknowledge in the House of Commons, that information had been received, but not officially at his office, of General Burgoyne's disaster at Saratoga. The House received the intelligence with astonishment, and the Ministry were subjected to a most severe censure for their conduct, from the gentlemen in opposition. The recess of both Houses took place on the 10th: and on the 15th of the same month, the London Gazette confirmed the dismal accounts of the unfortunate termination of the Canadian expedition. The Parliament met again on the 20th of January, 1778; by which time, the Ministry had settled the measures which they intended to adopt. The loss which the nation had sustained by General Burgoyne's misfortune, forced Administration to make considerable alterations in their plan of operations for the ensuing campaign. They were not so sanguine as formerly, in their hopes of reducing the rebellious colonies to obedience by force of arms, although that measure was not wholly relinquished. The successes of the southern army, had by no means equalled their expectations: and they now clearly saw, that Great Britain had not so many real friends in America as had been represented to them, in reports which they had received with unreserved confidence. To reinforce the army serving in North America, by adding to the number of foreign troops already employed, was a measure not to be attempted; both as it was found to be an enormously expensive method of levying men, and as the German Princes, who had hired out their legions for this service, had great difficulty in keeping them complete. Recruiting for these regiments was also much discouraged, by several of the German potentates: and one of the most considerable of them, (for whom Britain had expended millions) absolutely refused a passage through a skirt of his dominions to some troops actually in the British pay. To resent this indignity was beyond the present abilities of the state;

state; but the difficulty was surmounted by changing the route of the troops, who were obliged to make a circuitous march, by which much time was lost. Though Administration had resolved to make great concessions to the Americans, and to offer such terms as, in their judgment, could not fail of effecting an accommodation; they considered, that the surest method of attaining this end would be, by showing the discontented colonists, that conciliation was, on their part, rather a matter of choice than of necessity; and that the means of compulsion were still in their power. For this purpose, they saw it necessary to have another army: and to obviate the difficulties of raising it, they tried a new expedient. They resolved to have recourse to the zeal of their particular friends, and to the ardour of such communities as might view in a patriotic light, the coercive measures which they had promoted against the revolted colonies. If this plan should prove successful, it would enable Government, on easy terms, not only to replace the army which had surrendered at Saratoga, but also to complete the different corps serving in America, which, by deaths, wounds, sickness, and desertion, had suffered so considerable diminution, that they were scarcely able to take the field. Its success exceeded their most sanguine expectations. In England, some men of high rank and influence gave it their hearty support; and the wealthy merchants and manufacturers contributed largely to forward it. A regiment was raised at Liverpool, another at Manchester; and at other places large subscriptions were filled, for the purpose of recruiting his Majesty's forces. In North Britain, the same spirit appeared: the Dukes of Hamilton, Argyle, and Athol, and Lords Seaforth and Macdonald, raised each a regiment, as did the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Although affairs, in this respect, accorded with the wishes of Administration, it cannot be supposed, that they were so much at their ease as they affected to be; for they were now fully informed of what was passing at Paris, where the agents of the Americans were endeavouring to negotiate a commercial

cial treaty with France. As soon as certain accounts of the discomfiture of General Burgoyne's army reached these agents, they got this treaty concluded; by successfully representing to the French Ministry, that in consequence of this event, the Americans were in full possession of the Independence they had claimed. They had likewise obtained information, that the British Minister intended to send Commissioners to America, invested with the most ample powers to treat with the revolted colonies, and with authority to offer them the most favourable terms, as soon as an act of Parliament could be passed for that purpose. They accordingly represented to the French Ministry, that now or never, was the time for them to strike their long intended stroke. They stated, that if such conciliatory propositions should reach America before they had openly espoused her cause, many, in that country, who were unfriendly to the war, and averse to a total separation from Britain, might be disposed to adopt them; but that if France should appear as her avowed protector and ally, Congress would be enabled to reject the offers of the parent state, and the people would with confidence continue their resistance to the armies of England. In this event, they averred, that their countrymen would become the established friends of the French, and persist with spirit in the contest; fondly cherishing the hope, that Britain, oppressed by the immense debts she had contracted, and enfeebled by the numerous defeats she had sustained, would be unable to carry on the war with vigour. M. de Sartine so powerfully seconded the representations of the American agents, that in a short time another treaty of alliance, private, confidential, and in its tendency very menacing to this country, was concluded. It has since appeared, that Lord Stormont gave very early intimation to Ministry of these transactions.

The Parliament met, after the Christmas recess, on the 20th of January; and both parties renewed their hostilities with the keenest animosity, on every piece of public business that was brought before them. At last, on the 17th of February, Lord North

North introduced his propositions for conciliating the Americans to the mother-country. After giving the outlines of what he expected from the present state of America; he lamented, that the events of the war had proved far less fortunate than, in his opinion, they should have been: and affirmed, that the force employed by Government was so great, so completely equipped, and in all respects so amply provided for, as to warrant both him and the country in forming expectations of success, greatly beyond what had been realized. But to these events, and not to those expectations, he said, he must make his plan conform: and, as the foundation of his conciliatory scheme, he proposed to bring into Parliament two bills, under the following titles. "A Bill for declaring the intentions of the Parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his Majesty's Colonies, Provinces, and Plantations in North America:—And a Bill to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon, the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces of North America." Lord North then informed the House, that it was intended to appoint Five Commissioners, and to invest them with very extensive powers. They should be enabled to treat with the Congress by name, as if it were a legal body, and so far to give it authenticity, as to suppose all its acts and concessions binding on all America; to treat with any of the Provincial Assemblies, upon their present constitutions; and with any individuals in their present civil capacities or military commands; with General Washington, or any other officer. They should have a power to order a suspension of arms; to suspend the operation of all laws; and to grant all sorts of pardons, immunities, and rewards. They should have a power of restoring all the colonies, or any of them, to the form of its ancient constitution, as it stood before the troubles: and in any of those where the King nominated the governors, council, judges, and other magistrates, to nominate such at their discretion, until his Majesty's further

further pleasure should be known. He observed, that the deficiency of power in the former Commissioners had been objected to, and Congress had insisted on their acknowledgment of their title to independence, previous to entering into any treaty whatsoever. These pretensions, he said, should now be admitted, and allowed to exist, until the treaty had received its final ratification by the King and Parliament of Great Britain. The Commissioners should also be instructed to negotiate for some reasonable and moderate contribution, towards the common expence of the Empire when reunited; and to take away all pretext for not terminating this unhappy difference, the contribution was not to be insisted on as a *sine qua non* of the treaty: but if the Americans should refuse so reasonable and equitable a proposition, they could not hereafter look for support from that part of the Empire, to the expence of which they had refused to contribute.

Such was the plan of Administration, for healing the unhappy differences that subsisted between Great Britain and her North American colonies. Whoever considers it deliberately will see, that there was no intention on the part of Britain to enslave her American subjects, though such an insinuation had been artfully propagated in many of the colonies.

These bills did not pass through the House of Commons without very severe censure: and during their progress, several alterations were made in them, both in the committee and at their report. Whether it proceeded from a change of opinion, or from whatever other cause, the powers which they gave to the Commissioners were much more limited, than those which the Minister had at first proposed. The opposition stated, that immediate decision, on the part of the persons who were to conduct the treaty in America, might be indispensibly necessary to the success of their negotiations; that this was the only circumstance which could afford an ostensible motive, either for demanding or granting such powers as the bills were intended to convey; and that, if the treaty was to be settled in Britain, this would be most properly done by Parliament itself. They
accord-

accordingly complained, that while, by passing these bills, Parliament divested itself of most important powers, instead of conferring them on its Commissioners, who were to act abroad, it reserved them at home in the hands of Ministers, who might afterwards use them as they should think fit. In this state they were carried to the Lords, on the 3d of March, and on that day read a first time. Some severe observations were made upon them in their progress through the House; but they were read a second time on the 5th, passed on the 9th, and on the 11th received the Royal Assent. On the 13th of April, the King ordered Letters Patent to be passed under the Great Seal of Great Britain, constituting and appointing Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Knight of the Thistle; Richard Lord Viscount Howe of the kingdom of Ireland; Sir William Howe, K. B. Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces, and General of his Majesty's forces in America only; William Eden, Esq; one of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; and George Johnstone, Esq; Captain in the Royal Navy; to be his Majesty's Commissioners to treat, consult, and agree upon, the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of his Majesty's Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces in North America. Adam Ferguson, Esq; was appointed Secretary to the Commissioners.

The time was now arrived, when the French Ministry were to throw off the mask, and openly to avow their connection with the American States, as an independent government. On the 13th of March, two days after the conciliatory bills had received the royal assent, the Marquis de Noailles, the French Ambassador at the British Court, in the name and at the desire of his Master, delivered to Lord Weymouth, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, a Declaration, which completely verified the intelligence formerly transmitted from Paris by Lord Stormont, and to which Administration had, unfortunately, not been pleased to bestow the attention which its importance demanded.*

Lord

* See Note 79.

Lord North, by his Majesty's order, acquainted the House of Commons, that next day he was to present a Message from the King to that House; and accordingly, on the 17th of March, he delivered the Royal Message, accompanied with a copy of the French Declaration.* After informing the House, that in consequence of this offensive communication, the King had sent orders to his Ambassador to withdraw from the Court of France, he said, "That his Majesty was persuaded, the
 "justice and good faith of his conduct towards foreign powers,
 "and the sincerity of his wishes to preserve the tranquillity of
 "Europe, will be acknowledged by all the world; and that he
 "trusted, that he shall not stand responsible for the disturbance
 "of that tranquillity, if he should find himself called upon to re-
 "sent so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression on the honour
 "of his Crown, and the essential rights of his kingdoms; con-
 "trary to the most solemn assurances, subversive of the law of
 "nations, and injurious to the rights of every sovereign power
 "in Europe. His Lordship concluded by saying, that his Ma-
 "jesty, relying with the firmest confidence on the zealous and
 "affectionate support of his faithful people, is determined to be
 "prepared to exert, if it shall become necessary, all the force
 "and resources of his kingdoms; which, he trusts, will be
 "found adequate to repel every insult and attack, and to main-
 "tain and uphold the power and reputation of this country." On the same day, Lord Viscount Weymouth delivered a similar Message to the House of Lords. When, in consequence of these messages, the addresses came to be moved for in both Houses, very warm debates ensued; and Administration were most severely censured for their conduct, as it respected not America only, but France. The Minister, however, carried the address in the House of Commons, by two hundred and sixty-three against one hundred and thirteen; and in the House of Lords by eighty-four and sixteen proxies, against thirty-four and two proxies: and both Houses gave his Majesty the warmest assurances of support against the attempts of his enemies.

The

* See Note 80.

The French Ambassador was ordered to leave London; and although no declaration of war followed that order, every measure was pursued, as if that formality had been observed: more ships were immediately put in commission, and an act was passed, enabling his Majesty to call out and assemble the militia. But the French, who had been long meditating this blow, were beforehand with us in every thing. They had marched large bodies of their forces to their sea-coasts opposite to England; avowed their intention of invading the British dominions; and made great dispatch in equipping at Toulon, a fleet of twelve sail of the line, and a number of frigates, the command of which had been given to M. d'Estaing. Little doubt could be entertained of the destination of this squadron, as it was publicly known that M. Girard, who was invested with the character of Ambassador from France to the United States of America, had embarked in it. In order, however, to obtain certain information upon this subject, a frigate was sent to cruize off the Straits at the mouth of the Mediterranean, with orders to return to England, as soon as he could ascertain the course which it might take, after reaching the Atlantic ocean. It is now known, that, on the 16th of December, 1777, M. Girard had delivered to the agents of Congress at Paris, the preliminaries of a treaty between France and America; and that, on the 6th of February, 1778, this treaty was signed.

On the 21st of March, a public audience was given at Versailles, by the King of France, to Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Lee, in their public characters, as Agents of the American Congress. They were introduced by the Comte de Vergennes, and received with the usual formalities. This studied insult was given to Great Britain, in consequence of the King's Ambassador being ordered to quit Paris, and the French Ambassador to leave London. Notwithstanding the professions of peace which the King of France had made, in his declaration to the British Court, he ordered a powerful fleet to be equipped at Brest, and gave the command of it to M. d'Orvilliers.

The

The 7th of April was the day fixed by the House of Lords for finishing, in their grand Committee, their inquiries into the state of the nation : and in the great and interesting debate to which this subject gave rise, the Lords in opposition divided. The Duke of Richmond, in a long speech, asserted, that to us America was lost ; that her independence was established as firmly as that of other states ; and that the only thing which wisdom and prudence now dictated, was that we should attend to the preservation and improvement of the remaining parts of the Empire. This, he said, would be best effected by an immediate peace with America, and by a return to friendship with our late fellow-subjects. After affirming, that in the present circumstances of the nation, the grand object of British policy, was to prevent America from growing into habits of connection with France ; he concluded, by moving an address to his Majesty, reprobating in the strongest terms, the measures which Administration had pursued with respect to the civil war in America, and by which they had tarnished the glory of the Empire, and plunged it into inextricable difficulties.

Lord Weymouth replied to his Grace ; and when he sat down, the Earl of Chatham rose. For the last time, that great Statesman now appeared in the British Senate ; but never was the power of his eloquence so strongly felt. His looks were expressive of the feeble state of his body, and his utterance was frequently difficult, interrupted, and broken ; but his more than usual energy of language, shewed that he spake from the heart. After reprobating, in the severest terms, the conduct of France, he exclaimed, Could we forget that we were Englishmen ? We had withstood various efforts of the Bourbon compacts, and why should we now give up all, without endeavouring to prevent our losses, without a blow, without an attempt to resent the insults offered us ? If France and Spain were for war, why not try the issue with them ? If we fell in the contest, we should fall decently, and like men. Shall Englishmen, continued his Lordship, suffer the insults of France with dastardly pusillanimity ? Shall they say to the House of Bourbon, take all we have, and let us live in ignominious security ?

security ? This is not language for a Briton. It never should be his language. There were yet resources within ourselves, to oppose such an insolent invasion of national right. He reprobated the idea of despairing under any circumstances ; and said, that he believed there were yet within our power, effectual means to dispel the gathering storm, though he would not aver that he knew them. He regretted, that he wanted strength and abilities to give his King and country effectual assistance at this serious moment ; but he could justly declare, the sincerity of his desire to support their cause.

Having spoken with some enthusiasm upon these topics, he reverted to the subject of American independency. After recalling to the view of the House, the extent and revenue of the estate of the Crown of Great Britain, when his present Majesty came to the throne, he asked, What right the Houses of Parliament had to deprive the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburg, and the other rising hopes of the Royal Family, of the inheritance of the thirteen American provinces ? Before he could agree to take away from any of the heirs of the Princess Sophia's body, what they had a legal and natural right to expect and to possess, he declared, that he would see the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburg, and the rest of the young Princes, brought down to the Committee, and hear them consent to lose their inheritance. His Lordship said, he was exceedingly ill ; but as long as he could crawl down to the House, and had strength to raise himself on his crutches, or to lift up his hand, he would vote against giving up the dependency of America on the Sovereignty of Great Britain : and if no other Lord would coincide in opinion with him, he would singly protest against the measure. He never was, nor ever would be, an enemy to the liberties of America ; but had always wished to place them on a sure and permanent basis. To this speech the Duke of Richmond replied ; and when he sat down, Lord Chatham's great soul seemed to be agitated with some important thought. He attempted to rise ; but his feelings proved too strong for his debilitated constitution ; and suddenly

suddenly pressing his hand on his breast, he fainted. The whole House was in the greatest alarm; the bar was cleared, and the windows were thrown open. Very fortunately, Dr. Brocklesby happened to be below the bar of the House of Lords, attending to this important debate, when his Lordship dropped. He flew immediately to his relief; and exerted all his skill for the recovery of so illustrious a character. By his endeavours, he was soon restored to life: and on the arrival of Dr. Addington, (his Lordship's family physician) both the medical gentlemen thought it expedient, to remove his Lordship no farther than to Mr. Strutt's, (the Clerk of the House of Lords); lest, in his presently very feeble situation, he should be unable to bear the jolting of a carriage.

The whole nation appeared to be interested in the Earl of Chatham's recovery, and for some time they were flattered in their hopes: but his complaints, and a worn out constitution, baffled all medical skill; and this truly great man died at his villa of Hayes, in Kent, on the 11th of May following, in the seventieth year of his age.

It may justly be said, that he died in the service of his country: and the beautiful compliment paid by Mr. Pope to the late Lord Viscount Cobham, might with great propriety be applied to the dying efforts of the patriotic Earl of Chatham:

And you, brave Cobham, to the latest breath
Shall find your ruling passion strong in death:
Such in those moments as in all the past,
Oh! save my Country, Heav'n shall be your last.

As soon as the Earl of Chatham had left the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond said, that the awful event which they had now witnessed, must have made so strong an impression on their Lordships' feelings, as to render them indisposed to proceed further in the debate; and that he would, therefore, propose an adjournment. His proposal was adopted, and the House adjourned till the next day. The debate was then renewed; and when the question was put, the motion for the address

address was rejected, thirty-three being for it, and fifty against it. In the course of this session, sixty thousand seamen, including eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine marines, were voted for the year 1778.

On the 3d of June, his Majesty put an end to the session of Parliament. It is necessary only farther to observe, that Administration, regarding the terms which they meant to offer to the revolted provinces in a very favourable point of view, were of opinion, that the speedy publication of them in America might induce the insurgents to embrace the blessings of peace, so advantageously brought within their reach. Accordingly, in the month of December, 1777, they sent rough draughts of the conciliatory bills to New York, with orders to reprint them there, and to circulate them by all possible means in the colonies. The good intentions of Administration, however, were defeated by the vigilant counteraction of the rebel Congress, who published a copy, which they had obtained, of the intended acts of the British Parliament, accompanied with their own remarks and observations. These, drawn up with ability and address, were intended to defeat the designs of his Majesty's Ministers; and were soon followed by an address from Congress, exhorting the people of America to perseverance in their contest with Great Britain. It was, nevertheless, the opinion of many well-informed colonists, that the arguments and influence of Congress might have failed, and that they might have felt the expediency of coming to terms with his Majesty's Commissioners, if Simeon Deane,* brother to one of their agents at Paris, and their special messenger, had not at this critical time arrived, with accounts of the success of their negotiations at the Court of Versailles; and with copies of the treaties of friendship and alliance concluded between France and America. The advantages resulting from these were blazoned forth to the Americans; and the concessions proffered by the mother-country, now become objects of detestation, were contemptuously rejected. They considered their independence as
guaranteed

* He arrived at York-town, where the Congress were assembled, on the 2d of May. The treaty was signed February 6th, 1778.

guaranteed and confirmed, by the friendship of France; and they accordingly prepared to act in support of it, with new vigour, and resolution.

The loss of the northern army, under General Burgoyne, was a blow most severely felt in England, and which greatly cramped Administration in their future plan of operations; but the certainty of hostilities with France obliged them to have recourse to measures, which they would otherwise have been very averse to adopt. Among the first of these were, the orders sent for evacuating the city of Philadelphia, and removing both the fleet and army to New York. This measure has been much blamed: and has been mentioned as one cause, why so little attention was paid to the conciliatory propositions by the Congress, who, it was said, could scarcely be expected to negotiate with Commissioners attended by a retreating army. A short time however proved, that to this measure the preservation, both of the British fleet and army, might be attributed. Let those who blame this step consider, that the army of the rebel Americans had acquired a great accession of strength, as well as of arms and artillery, by the Convention of Saratoga; and that their whole united force would soon have been directed against Philadelphia. A small extent of country around that city, was all that could be said to be in possession of the British troops in Pennsylvania; and this territory was, by no means, capable of furnishing subsistence for so large an army, as had been cantoned in its capital and neighbourhood. The fleet, at this time, commanded the navigation of the Delaware; but in all probability, that command would not have been of long continuance: for if the British naval force in America had remained divided between that river and New York, as it had been during the last campaign, M. d'Estaing would have found it an easy matter to have destroyed all the ships of war and transports at the northern, and could then have employed his whole force against those at the southern station. From his acting in conjunction with General Washington, the superiority of whose army in numbers would have enabled him to command both sides of the river, the most fatal conse-

consequences to the British affairs were to be apprehended. The fact is, that the American agents at Paris had exhibited these flattering hopes to the view of the French Ministry; and that their accomplishment was the object of M. d'Estaing's immediate pursuit. The timely evacuation of Philadelphia disappointed these expectations; and the union of the two armies at New York, enabled Administration to provide for the safety of our West India possessions, and to protract the designs of the enemy.

Many more ships of the line were put in commission; but owing to the greatness of the number already employed in America, and to the want of the aid of the American seamen, (now unfortunately thrown into the opposite scale) very considerable difficulties occurred in manning them. A number of new levies were made, the militia of England were embodied, and the defence of Scotland was committed almost entirely to four regiments of fencibles, raised in that country by the Dukes of Buccleugh, Gordon, and Argyle, and the Countess of Sutherland. In the latter end of the preceding, and beginning of this year, most of the Flag-Officers were relieved on their respective stations, and replaced as follows: Rear-Admiral Duff was sent to the Mediterranean; Sir Peter Parker to Jamaica; Rear-Admiral Barrington to the Leeward Islands; and as Lord Howe had requested to be recalled from America, Rear-Admiral Gambier was ordered to that station: but, on the French declaring their design to aid his Majesty's enemies, Vice-Admiral Byron, with a strong squadron, was ordered to take the command in North America.

His Majesty was pleased, on the 23d of January, to order the following promotion of Flag-Officers, viz. John Reynolds, Esq; Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Honourable John Byron, and Augustus John, Earl of Bristol, Rear Admirals of the White, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.

George Mackenzie, Esq; Matthew Barton, Esq; and Sir Peter Parker, Knt. Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the White.

And the following Captains were, at the same time, promoted to the rank of Flag-Officers, viz. the Honourable Samuel Barrington, Marriot Arbuthnot, Esq; Robert Roddam, Esq; and George Darby, Esq; to be Rear-Admirals of the White.

John Campbell, Esq; Christopher Hill, Esq; James Gambier, Esq; William Lloyd, Esq; Francis William Drake, Esq; Sir Edward Hughes, Knt. and Hyde Parker senior, Esq; to be Rear-Admirals of the Blue.

On the 29th of January, his Majesty was pleased to order the following further promotion of Flag-Officers, viz.

Sir Charles Hardy, Knt. George Earl of Northesk, Sir Thomas Pye, Knt. and Francis Geary, Esq; Admirals of the Blue, and Sir George Bridges Rodney, Bart. and James Young, Esq; Vice-Admirals of the Red, to be Admirals of the White.

Sir Piercy Brett, Knt. Sir John Moore, Bart. and K. B. Sir James Douglas, Knt. George Lord Edgecombe, Samuel Graves, Esq; William Parry, Esq; Honourable Augustus Keppel, John Amherst, Esq; and his Royal Highness Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, Vice-Admirals of the Red, to be Admirals of the Blue.

Sir Peter Denis, Bart. Matthew Buckle, Esq; Robert Man, Esq; Clark Gayton, Esq; and John Montagu, Esq; Vice-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-Admirals of the Red.

Washington Earl Ferrers, Hugh Pigot, Molineux Lord Shuldham, Vice-Admirals of the Blue, and John Vaughan, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Red, to be Vice-Admirals of the White.

John Lloyd, Esq; Robert Duff, Esq; John Reynolds, Esq; Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Honourable John Byron, and Augustus John, Earl of Bristol, Rear-Admirals of the Red, to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue.

George Mackenzie, Esq; Matthew Barton, Esq; Sir Peter Parker, Knt. and the Honourable Samuel Barrington, Rear-Admirals of the White, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red: and John Campbell, Esq; and Christopher Hill, Esq; Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the White.

Captain

Captain Rowley succeeded Rear-Admiral Barrington, as Colonel of Marines; Captain Samuel Hood succeeded Rear-Admiral Gambier, as Commissioner of Portsmouth dock-yard; and Captain Richard Hughes succeeded Rear-Admiral Arbuthnot, as Commissioner of the dock-yard at Halifax in Nova Scotia. Sir Thomas Pye was appointed Port-Admiral at Portsmouth; as was Lord Shuldhham at Plymouth, and Rear-Admiral Roddam at Sheerness.

On the 22d of April, his Majesty's ship the Trident of sixty-four guns,* commanded by Captain John Elliot, having on board the Earl of Carlisle, William Eden, Esq; and George Johnstone, Esq; his Majesty's Commissioners for restoring peace to the revolted colonies in America, sailed from St. Helen's for Philadelphia; and soon after that, Rear-Admiral Gambier was dispatched, in the Ardent of sixty-four guns, to New York.

Administration were soon informed of the sailing of the French squadron from Toulon: and, anxious to have the earliest intelligence of its real destination, the Proserpine frigate, Captain Sutton, was dispatched to cruize off the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, and to watch its motions when it should enter the Atlantic. In the mean time Vice-Admiral Byron was ordered to hoist his flag, and to be ready to proceed to sea with a strong squadron, in pursuit of M. d'Estaing's fleet. It is greatly to be lamented, that he had not been sent to North America at least six weeks or two months sooner; but the uncertainty of the destination of the Toulon squadron prevented this from being done. If, instead of steering right across the Atlantic ocean, it had proceeded to Brest, and formed a junction with the enemy's ships in that harbour, it might have proved too powerful for any naval force that England was

* Whilst the Trident lay at anchor at St. Helen's, some villain cut the collar of the main-stay, and the gammon of the bowsprit. If this had not been providentially discovered in proper time, the masts, even in a slight gale of wind, would have gone by the board, the ship would have been rendered incapable of proceeding on her voyage, or in a strong gale might have foundered. This horrid piece of mischief was discovered only an hour before she sailed.

able to assemble, in the absence of Admiral Byron's fleet, and enabled the enemy to act without control in the British seas. To shew the comparative strength of the British and French fleets at this time, the reader is referred to Note 81 : for the number of ships which had been broke up since the peace in 1763, he may look at Note 82 : and at Note 83, will be found the strength of the fleet of Spain. The consideration of all these statements will show, that Britain had then but too little reason to boast of the superiority of her naval force, and that her Marine Minister should at all times be extremely cautious, not to break up line of battle ships until new ones are ready to replace them.*

In order to hasten every preparation for the ensuing campaign, his Majesty made a tour to Sheerness and Chatham,† and soon after visited Portsmouth, and reviewed the fleet in that harbour. On this occasion, by the account given in the London Gazette, the following Admirals had their flags as under :

Admiral Sir Thomas Pye, on board the Princess Amelia.

Admiral the Honourable Augustus Keppel, on board the Prince George of ninety guns.

Vice-Admiral John Montagu, on board the Europa of sixty-four guns.

Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Harland, Bart. on board the Queen of ninety guns.

Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. on board the Ocean of ninety guns.

Rear-Admiral the Honourable Samuel Barrington, on board the Prince of Wales of seventy-four guns.

Rear-Admiral Hyde Parker, on board the Royal Oak of seventy-four guns.

Commodore John Evans, on board the Invincible of seventy-four guns. ‡

His

* Ever since the peace in 1763, it has been the strenuous endeavour of the Courts of France and Spain to increase their naval strength.

† See Annual Register for 1778, Appendix to the Chronicle.

‡ For a list of the fleet, see Note 84.

His Majesty, while at Portsmouth, created Captain Samuel Hoed, the Commissioner of the dock-yard there, and Captain Sir Richard Bickerton, who steered his Majesty's barge, both at this and his former visit to that port, Baronets of Great Britain; and conferred the honour of Knighthood upon Digby Dent, Esq; Captain to the senior flag. He also ordered a promotion of Captains, Lieutenants, and Midshipmen.†

Orders had been sent to commence hostilities as early as possible, against the French in the East Indies; and the Asia of sixty-four guns, escorted the trade for that part of the globe. Convoys were likewise appointed, for the trade to the coast of Africa and the West Indies. Vice-Admiral Byron, who had been appointed successor to Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Howe, as Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in North America, was ordered to hoist his flag on board the Princess Royal at Portsmouth, and to repair to Plymouth, where his squadron was to assemble, and to be ready to sail at

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† Masters and Commanders made Post-Captains.

Anthony Parrey, Thomas Gaborian, and Farmery Epworth.

Lieutenants made Masters and Commanders.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Ships they belonged to.</i>	<i>The Ship appointed to.</i>
Thomas Marshall,	Princess Amelia,	Atalanta, 16 guns.
William George Fairfax,	Prince George,	Alert cutter, 10 guns.
Thomas Crespin,	Europa,	Vesuvius bomb, 16 guns.
John Reynolds,	Queen,	Ranger, 8 guns.
Martin Cole,	Ocean,	Wolfe, 8 guns.
Robert Simonton,	Prince of Wales,	Alderney, 12 guns.
Philip Patton,	Royal Oak,	Ætna bomb, 16 guns.
David Collins,	Invincible,	Alfred, armed ship, 20 guns.
Richard Trotter,	{ Sandwich, on board of which the Queen visited,	{ Queen, armed ship, 20 guns.
Thomas Hicks,	{ Augusta yacht, on board which was the Lords of the Admiralty,	{ Helena brig, 14 guns.
Philip Walsh,	Rattlesnake cutter, sloop,

Midshipmen made Lieutenants, viz. one from each flag-ship; one from the Sandwich, and one from the yacht. S. Ball, P. Kelley, H. Pullen, C. P. Price, J. Watherston, R. Thomas, J. Bird, P. Pomy, J. Bengaugh, Lord Robert Manners, Lord Charles Fitzgerald.

a moment's warning. He was joined there, by Rear-Admiral Parker and Commodore Evans, who brought with them several ships. M. d'Estaing sailed from Toulon, with twelve sail of the line and three large frigates, on the 12th of April; but it was the 16th of May before he got out of the Straits of the Mediterranean. He was soon after that discovered by Captain Sutton, in the *Proserpine* frigate, who had been sent to watch his motions, and who returned with all possible expedition to England,* to inform the Ministry of what he had observed. In consequence of the intelligence which he brought, orders were sent to Vice-Admiral Byron to proceed immediately for North America, with thirteen sail of the line and a frigate.

He sailed from Plymouth the 9th of June. Whether it was owing to its having been badly equipped, to its having steered an improper course across the Atlantic, or to what other cause its distress should be ascribed, it may not be easy to determine; but this squadron was, in fact, peculiarly unfortunate. Soon after it left the land, it was overtaken by a violent storm, in which it suffered much: many of the ships sprung their masts, and had their rigging otherwise greatly damaged; and they were so much dispersed, that they had nearly fallen an easy prey to the very fleet which they were intended to pursue.

NORTH AMERICA.

IN America, the contending armies continued, during the winter, in the same situation in which they were at the end of the campaign 1777. The Congress remained at Yorktown, and directed matters with a high hand, especially with regard to the detention of the gallant army, which had been obliged to surrender to their forces at Saratoga. They detained it at Boston on the most frivolous and vexatious pretences; and, in this instance, departed from the noble and manly spirit, which on other occasions appeared in their conduct. At last, on the 8th of January, they came to a resolution, that
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* Captain Sutton followed the French fleet ninety leagues in the Atlantic, and left them in lat. 34°, and long. 7°: he arrived at the Admiralty on the 6th of June.

the embarkation of General Burgoyne and his army should be suspended, until a distinct and explicit ratification of the Convention at Saratoga should be properly notified to them, by the Court of Great Britain.

Lord Howe continued in the chief command of the fleet on this station :* and Sir William Howe at the head of the army. As soon as the season would admit of military operations, the latter sent out several detachments, to range the country for many miles round Philadelphia and in the province of Jersey, to open the communication for bringing in supplies, and to collect forage for the army. These detachments were in general successful ; and their behaviour gained his approbation. One of them, consisting of three battalions and a provincial corps, under the command of Colonel Mawhood, on the 27th of March, made a descent on the coast of New Jersey, near to Salem ; and, after dispersing the forces collected in that part of the country to oppose them, obtained a very large supply of forage, which they conducted without loss to Philadelphia.

On the 4th of May, Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie was detached, with four hundred light-infantry, three hundred rangers, and a party of light dragoons, to surprise a corps of the rebels, which consisted of nine hundred men, under the command of a Brigadier-General, and was posted about seventeen miles from Philadelphia. This service he executed with skill, activity, and bravery. He conducted his march with such silence, that they were completely surprised. Without allowing them time to execute arrangements for defence, he instantly attacked them with the greatest vigour, and completely defeated them ; killing, wounding, and taking, a hundred and fifty men, including officers : with the loss on his part of only nine wounded. The route would have been far more fatal to the enemy, notwithstanding their precipitate flight, if the long march of the infantry, in effecting this surprise, had not disabled them from making a vigorous pursuit.

The rebels being employed in preparing vessels and small

craft, along the Jersey shore of the river Delaware, and also in erecting magazines, the Admiral and General resolved, if possible, to destroy them. For this purpose, they set on foot a conjunct expedition, in which the troops were to be commanded by the Honourable Major John Maitland, and the naval force by Captain John Henry. On the night of the 7th of May, the second battalion of light-infantry, with two field-pieces, were embarked in eighteen flat-boats; and, escorted by the *Huffar*, *Cornwallis*, *Ferret*, and *Philadelphia* galleys, the *Viper* and *Pembroke* armed schooners, and four gun-boats, they proceeded up the Delaware. The wind blowing down the river, with much rain, and the ebb making, when they had advanced twelve miles they were obliged to come to an anchor, and remain in their position till five o'clock next morning. At this hour they got under way, sailed up the river, and by noon were abreast of *Whitehill*, where Major Maitland resolved to make a descent. Captain Henry accordingly made a disposition of the galleys and craft to cover the landing of the troops; which was effected without opposition, though the insurgents appeared in force with cavalry and foot, but chiefly with the former. As soon as the field-pieces (three pounders) were landed, Major Maitland began his march towards *Borden-town*, distant about two miles. The Americans kept retreating: but at a creek, over which the British troops were obliged to cross by a dam, part of which was of wood, they made a stand, seemingly resolved to defend the pass. They had a field-piece, with which they attempted to break down the dam; but the light-infantry, pushing forward with their usual intrepidity, prevented the accomplishment of their design. A warm fire now commenced, which ended in a precipitate retreat on the part of the rebels. Abandoning their field-piece, which they had been able to fire only once, they run to a battery of five guns which they had in the town, and which had been placed in such a manner, as to prevent ships from coming up the river. The light-infantry drove them also from that battery; where they left fourteen killed on the spot. Near
the

the place where the troops had disembarked, Captain Henry, with his gallies and gun-boats, burnt two of the enemy's frigates, viz. the Washington pierced for thirty-two, and the Effingham for twenty-eight guns; together with a brig and a sloop. As soon as the King's troops had obtained, possession of Borden-town, the gallies and craft moved to that place, where they also burned several large ships and privateers.* The troops were, in the mean time, employed in burning and destroying four storehouses, containing large magazines of provisions of all sorts, a considerable quantity of tobacco, some military stores and camp equipage. Unfortunately the fire was, by some accident, communicated from the stores to the house of a Mr. Burden, a Colonel in the rebel service, and it was consumed, together with his furniture. Captain Henry, with the gallies, went up Croswell creek, where he destroyed several vessels of force. He also reconnoitred Watson's creek, with a view of destroying the enemy's gallies there; but this he found impracticable, as the rebels had sunk them in so deep water, that they were hidden at the lowest ebb.

The country was now much alarmed by this expedition; and the enemy, supposing that Major Maitland would march to Trenton, had assembled there in great force. To confirm them in that opinion, and to prevent them from thinking of succouring any other place, he moved forward in that direction, Captain Henry, with the gallies and other vessels, rowing up along-shore as he advanced; but embarking the troops in the flat-boats, he crossed the river, and landed in the evening on the Pennsylvania shore, where he took post so as to cover the naval force. Early next morning, he marched to Bile's island creek, where, with the assistance of the gallies, he burnt several vessels, particularly two loaded with tobacco, rum, and military stores. About two o'clock the troops proceeded to Bristol; and after a march of thirteen miles, arrived there about five in the evening. Having burned all the enemy's vessels they found there, they again embarked in the flat-boats

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* See Note 86.

at sunset, and early next morning landed at Philadelphia, without losing a man in this exploit.

In the several excursions, which the different detachments from the army made through the winter, in the environs of Philadelphia, many officers distinguished themselves. One exploit merits particular notice. Captain Lord Cathcart, who had been sent, at the head of twenty-five light dragoons, to reconnoitre the enemy's position at White Marsh, having heard that one of their patrols had lodged themselves in a house on the road leading to that place, his Lordship surrounded the house and summoned them to surrender. The party, which consisted of ten men, having barricaded the doors and windows, peremptorily refused to obey his summons : but on his firing a few shot through the door, and menacing them with the bayonet, they begged for quarter. He mounted each prisoner behind a dragoon, and brought them to Philadelphia. This excursion of twenty-eight miles was performed without a halt.

General Sir William Howe, having obtained his Majesty's leave to return to England, Sir Henry Clinton arrived at Philadelphia, on the 8th of May, to assume the command of the army. Before his departure, he was prevailed on to accept an invitation to a grand entertainment, made in honour of him by the officers of the army, and intended to shew to the whole world, the very high esteem in which they held him.

The rebels had obtained very exact information of what was going on at Philadelphia, and thought, that the very night on which the military were to be so deeply engaged, in putting all the honour in their power on their late Commander in Chief, would be a fit time to surprise the city. They hoped then, to find the British army so much intoxicated and off their guard, that their total defeat would be the consequence of a well-conducted attack. The command of this enterprise was intrusted, by General Washington, to the Marquis de la Fayette, who very probably was the projector of it. He crossed the Schuylkill on the 18th of May, with a select detachment of near three thousand men ; proceeded to take post on Barren-hill, about twelve miles in front of the rebel army, which

which was then at Valley Forge ; and was at great pains in placing his outposts and videttes, so as to prevent a surprise. The village of White Marsh, at which several roads meet, was situated at the distance of about two miles on his left. The militia, to whom he had intrusted this post, were very negligent : and information of their carelessness, together with an account of the Marquis's position, his force, and the suspicions which were entertained of his intentions, were conveyed to Philadelphia.

A plan was immediately formed, to surprise him and cut off his retreat : and for this purpose, Major-General Grant was detached, with two brigades of infantry, some light artillery, and a troop of light dragoons. He took the Frankfort road, and crossing the country through the old York road and White Marsh, next morning entered the road on which the Marquis was posted, at Plymouth meeting-house, about two miles in his rear. Matson's ford, on the river Schuylkill, is about one mile and a quarter from this place, and about two miles from Barren-hill church, where the Marquis was encamped. As this is the only ford by which he could effect his retreat, if General Grant had either marched his whole corps to it, or sent a strong detachment to have secured it, the purpose of his expedition would have been completely accomplished. But instead of doing this, he formed his troops into two divisions, one of which got round to attack the enemy in front, whilst the other continued in the road which led to La Fayette's detachment. The Marquis soon perceived the critical situation in which he was placed, and lost not a moment in marching with his whole force to the ford, which he crossed, before the oversight of the King's troops was perceived, or could be remedied. By these means he escaped, with very little loss : and General Grant marched back his corps to Philadelphia.

Since Sir Peter Parker's departure for Jamaica, the Squadron at Rhode Island was commanded by Captain Griffith. On the 24th of May, two conjunct expeditions from Newport took place. The first of these was conducted by Captain Clayton
of

of the navy, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of the 22d regiment. Major-General Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded his Majesty's land-forces at Rhode Island, had received certain information, that General Sullivan had arrived at Providence, to take the command of the rebel forces which were assembled there, with an intention of making an attack upon the island, when a convenient opportunity should offer. He had also been assured, that a great number of boats and a galley were ashore under repair, on the west side of the river and below Kickamuck bridge, where there were likewise some stores and a number of cannon. The General consulted Commodore Griffith, with respect to the measures which this information should lead them to pursue : and both agreed in opinion, that without losing a moment, they should take advantage of the unguarded situation of the enemy's vessels and stores, and destroy them. In this opinion they were confirmed, by intelligence on which they could with confidence rely, that the rebels had not more than two hundred and fifty men between Warren and Bristol ferry ; and that it was impossible for any considerable force to assemble and come to their assistance, before the object of the expedition could be attained and the troops re-embarked. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell was accordingly detached, with eight battalion companies of the 22d regiment, the flank companies of the 54th regiment, commanded by Captains Coore and Trench, and Captain Noltenius's company of Hessian chafeurs, amounting in all to about five hundred men, who marched in the evening to Arnold's Point. About twelve o'clock that night, they embarked there in flat-boats ; and, under the direction of Captain Clayton and Lieutenant Knowles, proceeded up the harbour towards Warren river : the *Flora*, at the same time, moving up above Papasquash Point to cover the disembarkation of the troops, and the other ships changing their stations, so as to give all possible assistance in that service. Soon after day-break, unperceived by the rebels, they were landed, three miles below Warren, and about a mile above Bristol. Colonel Campbell immediately sent a detachment, headed by
Captain

Captain Seir of the 22d regiment, to Papasquash Point, to destroy a battery of one eighteen pounder. This he easily effected; making a Captain of artillery and seven private men prisoners: while he was thus employed, the main body of the King's troops marched to the town of Warren; and having secured all the passes in its neighbourhood, Colonel Campbell proceeded with a detachment to Kickamuct river, where he found the boats belonging to the enemy, without a guard or any sort of protection. These were immediately collected in heaps; and the whole, amounting to one hundred and twenty-five, many of them fifty feet long, were set on fire and consumed. A galley of six twelve-pounders, and two sloops, one of which was loaded with stores, and a quantity of materials for building and repairing vessels, shared the same fate; as did a mill, and a bridge over the river. The guns of the galley, together with three eighteen pounders, mounted on travelling carriages, were spiked, the trunnions knocked off, and the carriages burnt. As soon as this service was performed, Colonel Campbell marched back to Warren, where the party he had left had destroyed, in like manner, a park of artillery, consisting of two twenty-four pounders, two eighteen pounders, and two nine pounders, mounted on travelling carriages, with side-boxes, ammunition, and side-arms complete. In the town of Warren, they discovered a house full of ammunition and other warlike stores, and some casks of rice, rum, and sugar, to which they set fire, and it soon after blew up. The town-house, church, and several houses, were likewise burned to the ground: and in Warren river, a new privateer sloop of sixteen four pounders, and fit for sea, was also burnt. Having performed this service, Colonel Campbell marched his detachment back by way of Bristol. Near to Warren, on his march, he spiked two field-pieces, and rendered useless a light three pounder, which the enemy had abandoned. He destroyed, in the same manner, two three-pounders which he found in a redoubt on the road.

In marching through Bristol, he spiked one eighteen pounder

der, blew up a house full of military stores, and burnt the church and some houses.

By this time, the insurgents had assembled to the amount of some hundreds, who kept up an incessant fire with two field-pieces on the rear of the King's troops, until they gained the height above Bristol ferry. Having spiked two eighteen pounders which they found in a battery on that height, they made the signal for the flat-boats to advance from Papasquash Point. Upon the arrival of the boats, the whole detachment re-embarked with the greatest regularity and good order, under cover of the fort on the opposite shore, and the *Flora* frigate and two galleys, the *Pigot* and *Spitfire*.* The rebels ventured to ascend the hill with one field-piece, but not till all the troops had embarked, and the boats had got to a considerable distance from the shore.

This service was performed with very little loss. Lieutenant Hamilton of the 22d regiment, four Hessian and eight British soldiers, were wounded; and two drummers missing. The enemy's loss could not be so easily ascertained, as they kept at a great distance, and fired chiefly from behind walls: on this occasion one Colonel, three Field-Officers, two Captains, two Lieutenants, and fifty-eight soldiers or belonging to the rebel militia, were made prisoners.

Another part of this expedition was conducted by Captain Reeves of the navy, who, about two o'clock in the same morning, with the *Pigot* galley, commanded by Lieutenant Stanhope, and six armed boats, passed the enemy's battery at Bristol ferry: and although hailed by the sentries, deceived them so effectually, that they were made to believe, that the galley was one of their own vessels. As soon as the *Pigot* came to anchor in Mount Hope bay, Lieutenant Kempthorne was detached, with the armed boats, to the mouth of Taunton river, where he landed, and took a galley, carrying two eighteen, two twelve, and six six-pounders. As the enemy were off their guard he met

* The *Spitfire* was taken from the rebels that morning, by Lieutenant Kempthorne of the *Nonfuch*.

met with no opposition. To draw the attention of the rebels at Howland's ferry to the Seconnet shore, Lieutenant d'Auvergne, of the Alarm galley, on the morning of the same day, landed a party of marines at Fogland ferry, burnt the guardhouse there, and retreated without any loss. The Commodore was much pleased with the conduct of Captains Clayton and Reeves, and Lieutenants Kempthorne, Knowles, Stanhope, Christian, and d'Auvergne: and Sir Robert Pigot highly approved of the behaviour of Colonel Campbell, Lieutenant-Colonel Hillman, Captains Coore, Trench, and Captain Noltenius.

The second conjunct expedition, from Newport in Rhode Island, took place on the 30th of May. A detachment of one hundred men, commanded by Major Eyre of the 54th regiment, was embarked at Arnold's Point in flat-boats, which were escorted by the Pigot galley and some armed boats, under the direction of Lieutenant Christian, in his Majesty's sloop the King's Fisher, for the purpose of destroying the saw-mills, which the rebels had on a creek near Taunton river. These mills were reported to be busily employed, in preparing materials to build boats and other craft, for an intended invasion of Rhode Island.

Unfortunately, the galley got aground in passing Bristol ferry; but the boats proceeded, and soon after day-break, arrived at the place where it was proposed to land the troops. They were discovered some little time before they reached the shore, and a general alarm was given, by firing cannon and small arms. When the troops attempted to disembark, they were fired upon by a strong guard, which was soon dispersed by one of the gun-boats. They then landed, pushed forward to two mills, the one for sawing timber, the other for grain, set fire to both, and entirely consumed them; together with a very considerable quantity of boards and planks for building boats and privateers, and many sacks of corn. The Major finding a greater number of men in arms than he expected, and being apprehensive that the opposition would increase, thought it more prudent to retire than to advance farther to the other mill;

mill; especially, as the chief object of the expedition was already attained. In returning to the boats he set fire to the enemy's guard-room, a provision store, and nine cedar boats. His loss was two men killed, and Lieutenant Goldsmith and four men wounded: but that of the rebels was considerably greater.

When the tide made, the Pigot galley got afloat: but in towing her off, Lieutenant Andrew Congalton, of his Majesty's ship *Flora*, was badly wounded in the shoulder by a cannon-ball, and two sailors were killed. The General and Commodore were much pleased with the spirit and conduct, which the officers and men displayed in this excursion.

Earl Cornwallis, and three of his Majesty's Commissioners, arrived in the Delaware from England, in the *Trident*, on the 7th of June, and next day went to Philadelphia. On the 9th, they sent their Secretary, Doctor Ferguson, to Congress, with a letter addressed to the President, a copy of their commission, the late acts of Parliament, and some other papers; but, on pretence of his not having proper passports, he was stopped on the road, by an American General Officer, and obliged to return. The General undertook to forward the dispatches to the President; but although the Congress knew, that the Doctor was the agent intended for conducting the negotiation, they refused to grant him a passport. Foiled in this effort, the Commissioners attempted, by other means, to obtain a conference, which might lead to a reconciliation between the parent state and her colonies; but in this attempt they were equally unsuccessful: for Congress, thinking that they had proceeded too far to retract, had already taken a decided part, and considered the time for negotiating as past. The Commissioners, at their first outset, proposed several arrangements and concessions, obviously so beneficial and important to America, that they flattered themselves with the hope of their proving the means of restoring peace and harmony to the Empire. They proposed an immediate cessation of hostilities by sea and land: and offered to restore a free intercourse, and to renew the common benefits of natural-

naturalization through the several parts of the Empire: to extend every freedom to trade, that the respective interests on both sides could require: to agree that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the General Congress, or of the particular Assemblies: to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation: to perpetuate the common union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent, or agents, from the different States, who should have the privilege of a seat and voice in the Parliament of Great Britain; while those sent from Britain, should have the like privilege in the Assemblies of the different States to which they might be deputed respectively, in order to attend to the several interests of those by whom they were deputed. In short, they offered to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government; so that the British States throughout North America, acting with Great Britain in peace and in war, under one common Sovereign, might have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that was short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends.

Such offers from his Majesty's Commissioners produced very great debates in Congress; which were renewed day after day, from the 11th to the 17th of June. They at last ended in a resolution, to inform his Majesty's Commissioners, by their President Henry Laurens, Esq; that when the King of Great Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition for peace, they would be ready to treat with him: but that the only solid proof of that disposition would be, an explicit acknowledgment of the Independence of the American States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.*

* An ample detail of all the particulars of this negotiation, would be foreign to the plan of this work; but the reader, who is desirous of more complete information on so important a subject, is referred to the Appendix, Note 87, where he will find a selection of the most authentic documents concerning it.

Orders having been received for his Majesty's forces to evacuate the city of Philadelphia, and march to New York, proper measures were taken for putting them into execution.

The fleet under the command of Lord Viscount Howe was greatly dispersed; very considerable detachments of it being employed at New York, Rhode Island, and Halifax. In consequence of advices from England, which arrived by the Porcupine sloop of war at Philadelphia in the beginning of May, his Lordship most judiciously ordered all the large ships at New York and Rhode Island, to join him with the greatest expedition at the mouth of the river Delaware.* He also directed the transports and victuallers to be cleared from the wharfs at Philadelphia, with as much dispatch as possible; and on board of these vessels were put all the stores, provisions, and baggage, not absolutely necessary to accompany the army, which then lay in Philadelphia and its environs. Every preparation having been made, at three o'clock in the morning on the 18th of June, Sir Henry Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, and marched to Gloucester Point, about three miles below that city, without being followed by the enemy. In consequence of the excellent disposition made by the Admiral for that purpose, the army, amounting to near twelve thousand men, were safely conveyed across the river Delaware with the greatest expedition, resumed its march about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and reached Haddonfield the same day: the rebels, on the approach of the King's troops, abandoned the strong pass of Mount Holly, and the army proceeded without any molestation from them, excepting what was occasioned by their having destroyed every bridge on the road. As the country is much intersected with marshy rivulets, the army frequently met with obstructions from this cause on their march; and the excessive heat of the season, rendered the fatigue of repairing bridges most severely felt by the troops.

On the 23d, the advanced parties of the light troops of the King's army arriving unexpectedly at Crosswicks, they, after
a trifling

* See Note 88.

a trifling skirmish, prevented the rebels from destroying the bridge over a large creek at that village, and the army passed it the next morning; one column of which was placed under the command of Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, and halted near Amely's-town; to this column was attached the provision-train and heavy artillery: the other column was placed under the command of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis, and took a position at Allen's-town, which completely covered the encampment of the other column. So far had Sir Henry Clinton advanced, without meeting with any material opposition from the rebels; and his march having been pointed equally towards the Hudson's river and Staten Island, by the Rariton, it now became necessary for him to decide ultimately what course to pursue: his army was encumbered by an enormous provision-train, a train of artillery, stores, and baggage; to these impediments, the probability of obstruction, and the great length of his march, had obliged him to submit, as the enemy had long possessed the greatest part of the Jerseys, and where they had strong bodies of troops, of course a supply of provisions became extremely precarious. So many obstacles, indeed, appeared in every direction, as to show that whatever his choice might be, the success of the expedition must in a great measure depend upon his own conduct and skill, and upon the known bravery of the troops under his command. In the present circumstances of the army, therefore, the shortest way was to be preferred. Sir Henry Clinton had received intelligence, that Generals Washington and Lee had passed the Delaware with their army; had assembled a great body of militia from all the neighbouring provinces; and that General Gates, with an army from the northward, was advancing to join them on the Rariton, the banks of which river, he knew, could be easily defended by a small number against a very superior force. From the motions of the enemy, he was in danger of being hemmed in between two fires; he made a choice, however, by which he was sure of avoiding at least one of their armies, and from the conduct which General Washington had for a con-

considerable time pursued, he judged that such an opponent would not endeavour to bring on a general action, until he was assured of the co-operation of the army under General Gates, when so great a superiority might flatter the rebel Generals with a very high probability of success. The shortest route was by Freehold to the heights of Navisink, and from that to Sandy Hook, from which the army could easily be conveyed to New York by water. Even by this route, Sir Henry Clinton did not expect to march unmolested. He foresaw that, in all probability, a formidable attack would be made on his long train of provisions and baggage, and he took his measures accordingly.

A large corps, amounting to almost one half of the British forces, was intrusted to the command of General Knyphausen,* who was requested to take charge of the baggage† of the whole army: and as the road by which it was to march admitted only of one carriage at a time, this immense train extended the length of twelve miles.

The country was woody: therefore, Sir Henry Clinton had the flanks of his army exceedingly well secured. The column under Lieutenant-General Knyphausen began its march at day-break, on the 28th of June; and that it might not be too much pressed, considering its great encumbrances, the Commander in Chief did not follow with the second column‡ till near eight o'clock. If the Commander of the King's forces foresaw the numerous dangers to which he was exposed, and displayed great abilities in guarding against them; the Commander of the

* 17th light dragoons; 2d battalion of light-infantry; Hessian yagers; 1st and 2d brigades of British; Stern's and Loo's brigades of Hessians; Pennsylvania loyalists; West Jersey volunteers, and Maryland loyalists.

† Under the head of baggage was comprised; not only all the wheel-carriages of every department, but also the bat-horses.

‡ Composed of the 16th regiment of light dragoons; 1st battalion of British grenadiers; 1st battalion of light-infantry; Hessian grenadiers; the British foot guards; the 3d, 4th, and 5th brigades of British, and the Queen's American Rangers.

the rebel forces was no less vigilant and active, in his efforts to lay hold of every advantage that presented itself.

As soon as the rebel Commander in Chief had crossed the Delaware, he marched and took a position within a few leagues of the royal army, and had his parties so placed, that Sir Henry Clinton could make no movement of which he had not immediate information. At this time, General Washington was fully advised of the intended co-operation of France, and expected every day the arrival of the fleet, under the command of M. d'Estaing, on the American coast. Had this event taken place before Sir Henry Clinton had reached New York, the plan concerted by the Congress was, immediately to have attacked that place; in which, little doubt can be entertained, that the transports and the detachment of the fleet, under Commodore Hotham, might have been taken or destroyed. This blow would, in all probability, have been followed by a greater; for the French Admiral would next have brought his whole force against the fleet under Lord Howe in the Delaware: the discomfiture of which must inevitably have been followed by that of the whole army.

General Washington had now to lament, that the evacuation of Philadelphia had not been delayed for some days; but even as matters stood, his hopes of striking some important blow were sanguine. If Sir Henry Clinton had pursued his route to the Rariton, he was resolved to have pressed on his rear, until the royal army had been hemmed in between his army and that under General Gates, when they could have attacked him with every possible advantage, or have compelled him to surrender for want of provisions. Though the British army took the route to Freehold, General Washington was not without hopes of acting against it with all his force, in conjunction with his new allies, on the heights of Navisink, and of preventing Sir Henry Clinton from making good his retreat to New York. So confident were the insurgents in these expectations, that the report was spread and universally believed through the revolted provinces, that the fate of General Burgoyne and his

army now awaited the troops under Sir Henry Clinton. General Washington, that he might distress the royal army as much as possible, ordered two strong detachments to harass its flanks, and conjunctly annoy its long train of baggage, while he with the main body should attack its rear, in order to prevent Sir Henry Clinton from sending troops to oppose their assaults. Such was his plan. Accordingly, the column under the Commander in Chief had scarcely begun its march, when some of the rebel reconnoitring parties appeared on its left flank; and the Queen's Rangers fell in with several detachments of them in the woods, which they attacked and dispersed. The rear guard of the British army having descended from the heights above Freehold, into a plain three miles in length and about one in breadth, there were seen also descending into the same plain, several columns of rebel troops, who, about ten o'clock, began to cannonade them. About this time, information was brought to Sir Henry Clinton, that the enemy were discovered marching in force on both flanks of his army. This confirmed his opinion, that the chief design of the rebel General was against his baggage. The royal army was then engaged in defiles, which continued for some miles; and no measure appearing to Sir Henry Clinton so likely to ward off the threatened blow, as that of making a brisk attack on the rebel corps which harassed his rear, and pressing that corps so hard, as to compel General Washington to recal to his assistance, the detachments which he had pushed forward to attack the baggage of the royal army. He saw that his situation required immediate exertion: and although he had certain information, that his opponent had collected his whole force, consisting of at least twenty thousand men, to act against him, he was not in the least disconcerted, but took his resolutions with coolness, judgment, and courage. He knew, that two defiles lay between him and the corps he meant to attack; and conjectured, that the enemy could not have passed the royal army, with a force which the division under Earl Cornwallis would be unable to engage. Even if he should meet the whole of General

neral Washington's army in the passage of those defiles, he apprehended little danger to himself, but saw that the situation might prove critical to the rebels.

The enemy's cavalry, led on by M. de la Fayette, having ventured near the King's army, were immediately attacked with great vigour by the Queen's light dragoons; the enemy, perceiving their danger, did not wait the shock of the charge, but fell back in great confusion upon their own infantry. Sir Henry Clinton, to support his attack on the rebel army, and in hopes that the event might bring on a general engagement, judged it proper to order a brigade of British infantry, and the 17th regiment of light dragoons, from Lieutenant-General Knyphausen's division, to join him and to take a position to cover his right flank, on which he suspected the enemy might make an attempt. The rebels perceiving the disposition which had been made to attack them in the plain, they fell back; and before the King's troops could overtake them, they had taken a strong position on the heights above Freehold court-house. The King's forces had suffered severely, both by fatigue and the intense heat of the weather; but sensible, that circumstances imperiously called for great exertions, the British grenadiers having their left to the village of Freehold, and the guards on their right, made a most spirited attack on the enemy, and compelled them to give way. The second line of the rebel army resisted with more obstinacy; but they likewise were at last completely routed. The enemy then took a third position, having a marshy hollow in their front, over which it would have been scarcely possible to have attacked them; but part of the second division of the King's army made a movement to the front, and occupied some ground on the left flank of the rebels, while the light-infantry and the Queen's Rangers turned their left. By this time, the men were so much exhausted by fatigue, that Sir Henry Clinton, who concluded by the exertions already made that he had completely attained his end, ordered the light-infantry to rejoin his division; but in their doing this, a strong detachment of the rebels interposed to prevent it, and would

X 4

certainly.

certainly have greatly annoyed that corps, if the thirty-third regiment and the first battalion of grenadiers had not rushed forward to their assistance, and immediately dispersed the enemy; the light-infantry then rejoined the General without farther molestation.

The division of the royal army under Sir Henry Clinton, now occupied the same ground from which the rebels had been driven, after they had quitted the plain; and, on account of the excessive heat of the day, they were ordered to rest there until ten o'clock at night, when they resumed their march by moon-light, and rejoined the division under Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, who had advanced to Nut-swamp, near Middleton.

A strong detachment of the rebel army, under the command of General Lee, had made an attempt, on the long train of baggage; but were repulsed in consequence of the good dispositions made by Lieutenant-General Knyphausen and Major-General Grant, and the gallantry of the 40th regiment, whose piquets, and one troop of the 17th light dragoons, only were engaged. General Washington was exceedingly displeased with the conduct of Major-General Lee, for not persevering in this attack; which was afterwards subjected to a Court-martial, by whose sentence, he was ordered to be suspended from the service of the American States for twelve months. The Court not only found him guilty of disobedience of orders, but even threw a slur upon his courage; by insinuating, that he had not attacked with sufficient vigour, and that his retreat was disorderly.

Never did troops display greater bravery or better conduct, than the British officers and soldiers did in these conflicts: not more than six thousand men were in action; yet they defeated at least double their numbers, and forced them from two strong positions; these feats they achieved, notwithstanding they were so oppressed with the heat of the weather, and so much exhausted with fatigue, that a large proportion of those who lost their lives on this occasion fell dead as they advanced to battle, without having received a wound.

Before

Before the action closed, Sir Henry Clinton, fearing that his first order, which he had sent to Lieutenant-General Knyp-
hausen for a reinforcement of troops, had miscarried; he there-
fore sent a second order, for a brigade of British, the second
battalion of light-infantry, and the seventeenth regiment of
light-dragoons, to join him on his march. With this addi-
tional force, he had resolved, if General Washington had shewn
himself next day, to have attacked him: but there not being
the least appearance of an enemy, Sir Henry Clinton suspected,
that the rebel General might have pushed a considerable corps
to a strong position near Middleton; for which reason he de-
tached Major-General Grant, with a strong body of troops, to
occupy this post, which he effected on the 29th, and on the
30th, the whole army arrived at this position. On the first
of July, they fell back to another, near Navisink, where Sir
Henry Clinton waited two days, in hopes that General Wash-
ington would have been tempted to have advanced to the posi-
tion near Middleton; in which case, the British General could
have attacked him to great advantage. During this time, the
sick and wounded were embarked, and preparations made for
passing to Sandy Hook island* by a bridge of boats, which, by
the extraordinary efforts of the navy, under the direction of
Captain Duncan, was soon completed, and over which, in two
hours time, the whole army passed; the horses and cattle hav-
ing been previously transported.

The loss which his Majesty's forces sustained, in the various
actions and very fatiguing march across the Jerseys, was small,
in comparison of what might have been expected, considering
the difficulties which they had to encounter.† Of the British
four officers were killed, among whom were the Honourable
Henry Monckton, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 45th regiment of
foot, and Commandant of the second battalion of light-infan-
try; he was a most excellent officer, and much lamented by
the

* This place had been formerly a peninsula; but, by the violence of the sea
last winter, had become an island.

† See Note 89.

the whole army. Only four serjeants, and fifty-six rank and file, were killed : three serjeants and five rank and file, died with fatigue. Fifteen officers, seven serjeants, and one hundred and thirty-seven rank and file, were wounded : and three serjeants, and sixty-one rank and file, missing. Of the German troops, one rank and file were killed, eleven rank and file died with fatigue, and eleven rank and file were wounded.

The General sent Colonel James Paterson home with his dispatches, in which he mentioned in the strongest terms of commendation, the bravery and good conduct of the officers and men under his command, and the great assistance which he had received from the General Officers.

This campaign affords some occurrences that stand almost unequalled in the annals of Great Britain : the disaster of General Burgoyne and his army ; the hair-breadth escape of the army under Sir Henry Clinton, and the fleet under the command of Lord Howe, from destruction ; and that fleet and army afterwards blocked up in the harbour of New York by a French squadron. A number of fortuitous circumstances combined to produce these extraordinary events. A squadron was ordered for North America, of sufficient strength to defeat the designs of the French squadron under M. d'Estaing. They were unfortunately long detained in England by contrary winds, and on their voyage to America were overtaken by a severe storm, in which most of the ships of the squadron were crippled and dispersed : thick weather succeeding, they were never able again to form a junction ; and by a strange fatality, this fleet instead of being ordered directly to Sandy Hook, were ordered, in case of separation, to rendezvous at Halifax.

The Porcupine sloop had been sent from England with dispatches for Lord Howe, and arrived in the Delaware the beginning of May, when his Lordship took steps that much surprised all those who were ignorant of his motives : he recalled his cruizers from the Chesapeake, and ordered the large ships from Rhode Island and New York to assemble at the mouth of the Delaware. Immediately on the evacuation of Philadelphia,

delphia, the ships in the Delaware assembled below Reedy Island. The large ships which had been ordered from Rhode Island, as well as those which were stationed in the harbour of New York, were very imprudently detained by Rear-Admiral Gambier, from the idea of Lord Howe being on the point of sailing for that port. Calms and contrary winds prevented Lord Howe from getting out of the Delaware, until the 28th of June; he then divided the fleet into different squadrons, placing each of them under the inspection of particular Captains, and ordering Captain Hamond of the Roebuck to remain about the Capes with some light cruisers. His Lordship proceeded in the Eagle to New York, attended by the Trident, (having his Majesty's Commissioners on board,) and the Maidstone frigate. The squadron, immediately under Lord Howe's command, were at last fortunate in a quick passage from the mouth of the Delaware to Sandy Hook, the Eagle arriving there on the 29th of June, the day after she cleared Cape Henlopen; and in the evening of the 30th, the ships of war and transports from the Delaware arrived at Sandy Hook.

On the first of July, all on board were rejoiced, by observing Sir Henry Clinton and the army on the heights of Navisink. In the morning of the day on which Lord Howe arrived at Sandy Hook, he was met at sea by the Grantham packet, express from England; which brought his Lordship advice, that the Toulon squadron had sailed for America the 15th of April: her Captain also informed Lord Howe, that he had been chased by them, in a southern latitude, at no great distance from the coast. The dispatches by the Grantham, which were dated the 2d of May, stated, that a strong reinforcement was immediately to be sent, under the command of Vice-Admiral Byron, for Halifax.

On the 5th of July, Sir Henry Clinton, with the army, crossed over the bridge of boats to Sandy Hook island, from Navisink; and the ships of war, under Commodore Hotham, from New York, had anchored at Sandy Hook: when, on the 7th of July, a Lieutenant from Captain Calder of the Maidstone

stone frigate, arrived at the Hook with dispatches to Lord Howe, informing him, that on the 5th of July the Toulon squadron was seen by the Maidstone, on the coast of Virginia; that by its course, it seemed at first to be bound for the Chesapeake; but that, having watched its motions till the morning of the 6th, he had left it at anchor in the Delaware. This account was confirmed the same evening, by the arrival of the Roebuck frigate. While Lord Howe was, in consequence of this information, employed in collecting his small force, and in making preparations for every emergency, the Zebra sloop of war arrived at the Hook, on the 11th of July; whose Captain brought intelligence, that the evening before he had seen a fleet, consisting of twelve sail of two-decked ships, and three frigates, under French colours, holding their course for New York. At twelve o'clock the same day, a signal was made, without the bar, that the French fleet had hove in sight; and in the afternoon, they were observed to come to anchor off Shrewsbury inlet, about four miles from Sandy Hook.

It is not in the power of words to do justice to the spirit, that blazed in the navy and army on this occasion. Six sail of sixty-four gun ships, three of fifty, two of forty, with some frigates and sloops, for the most part wretchedly manned, constituted the whole force which Lord Howe had to oppose to twelve sail of two-decked ships and three large frigates.* Of these two-decked ships, eight were greatly superior in size, number of guns, and weight of metal, to any under his Lordship's command: and the number of men on board the hostile fleet amounted to eleven thousand. Yet, such was the noble spirit of the British sailors; such their glorious love for the honour of their country; and such their confidence in their leader, whose example gave life to their valour, that their emulation to second his exertions rose to a height to which history can find no parallel, inducing them to set the evident superiority of the enemy at defiance. Nor was this national spirit confined to the royal navy alone: the patriotic flame spread through

* See Note 90.

through the whole fleet; and a thousand volunteers, from the transports and victuallers, presented themselves to man his Majesty's ships. Scarcely could the agents detain a sufficient number of hands for the watch of their respective ships.—Many, whose names were omitted in the list given in to the Captain appointed by Lord Howe to receive them, were found concealed in the boats, which carried their more fortunate companions on board the several ships of war. This important emergency seemed, indeed, to infuse a peculiar spirit into both services, proportioned to every danger which threatened them. The soldiers became immediately as impatient to have an opportunity of signalizing themselves, on so critical an occasion, as the sailors: and though unaccustomed to a sea-life, which is commonly unpleasant and disgusting to landmen, expressed their eager desire to be employed, under Lord Howe, whose character they held in the highest esteem. The grenadiers and light-infantry, not yet recruited from the fatigues of a toilsome and laborious march, and many of the officers and men, with their wounds yet scarcely healed, were obliged to cast lots, to determine who should obtain the envied situation, of serving on board the squadron as marines. The masters and mates of the merchantmen and traders in the harbour, also solicited employment with equal ardour. Several of them took their stations at the guns with the common sailors: and others, obtained permission to put out to sea in small swift-sailing shallops, to alarm such ships as might be bound for the port, and to look out for Admiral Byron's fleet, if fortunately it should appear on this part of the coast. One in particular,* with a spirit of distinguished bravery, and in language worthy of an old Roman, wrote to Lord Howe, for leave to convert his vessel, the whole hopes of his fortune, into a fireship, to be conducted

* The name of this worthy man is Gideon Duncan, a native of Scotland. He commanded a vessel in the employment of the Government, and not only professed to convert her into a fireship, but declared, that if he was allowed to conduct her, he would attempt to lay the French Admiral's ship on board, as he lay at anchor off the Hook.

conducted by himself; rejecting every mention of reward.

In this struggle of magnanimity it was observed, with rapture, that the spirit which had raised Britain above the rest of Europe was not yet extinct; and that it wanted only to be awakened, and properly directed, to shine in her modern sons with as bright a lustre as in any of her ancient heroes. From the Commanders and Officers, such sallies of patriotic valour were naturally to be expected; but when the same ardour extended, not only to every rank and station in the service, but to every individual connected with or dependent upon the navy and the army, it appeared to proceed from the spirit of the people, and to exalt the character of the nation.

The Vice-Admiral could not be insensible to the high esteem for him, which all connected with both services had so strongly expressed: and his feelings corresponded with the emulation which glowed around him. Encouraged by the determined bravery of the men, and assured of the merit and skill of his officers, he lost not a moment in forming his disposition. The *Eagle*, *Trident*, *Isis*, *Roebuck*, *Phoenix*, and *Pearl*, which had moved up to Staten Island to take in water, together with the *Ardent*, from which Rear-Admiral Gambier had been ordered to shift his flag, fell down from the watering-place, on the first intimation of the approach of the French. A contrary wind having prevented them from joining that part of the squadron which had been left at the Hook, with all the expedition which the impending danger seemed to require, the Vice-Admiral quitted the *Eagle*, and hastened in his barge to the ships below. But M. d'Estaing, instead of crossing the bar immediately, in hope of surprising the British fleet, which it was natural to suppose he came prepared to have attempted, anchored, as was formerly observed, off Shrewsbury inlet; where he remained for several days, employed at times in sounding the bar, with every appearance of a determination to enter and attack the port.

In the mean time, Lord Howe improved this unlooked-for interval, by stationing his ships and vessels in the strongest position

sition of which the channel within the Hook would admit. He placed the *Leviathan*,* the *Ardent*, the *Nonfuch*, the *Trident*, the *Somerfet*, the *Eagle*, and the *Isis*, in a line stretching from the Hook, toward the S. W. point of the bank called the Spit. These ships were anchored with springs on their cables; by which means, they could bring their broadsides to oppose any force that might attempt to come up the channel. Behind the *Leviathan* were the Carcass and Thunder bombs. The *St. Albans*, and some frigates, designed for a moving and occasional force, to go where it might be found requisite, lay within this line. The *Vigilant*, *Phoenix*, and *Preston*, were advanced to command the bar, to annoy the French fleet in passing it, and to endeavour to throw them into confusion; after which, they were to drop into the rear of the fleet. The four galleys were ranged across the narrow part of the channel, abreast of the Hook; from which, in the event of an attack, they could row upon the shoal, and play their guns at such a distance as should be found most convenient, for the purpose of annoying the enemy: while their situation, on ebb water, would effectually prevent their being cut off. The Vice-Admiral sounded the depths of the channel in person; ascertained the different settings of the currents; and from the observations thus made, formed plans of defence, suited to any direction of the wind, with which M. d'Estaing might resolve to cross the bar. These plans, with the grounds on which they rested, he daily communicated to the Commodores and Captains, soliciting their opinions of them, and desirous of profiting by their remarks. A battery of two howitzers, and another of three eighteen pounders, were erected on the point round which the enemy must pass to enter the channel; while four regiments, under the command of Colonel O'Hara, were ordered by Sir Henry Clinton to the Hook, to prevent the enemy from attempting to take possession of that place, from which they might act with considerable

* The *Leviathan*, formerly his Majesty's ship *Northumberland* of seventy guns, her name changed, and used as a storeship; but, on this occasion, manned with volunteers, and supplied with cannon from the park of artillery.

considerable advantage. In the mean time, it was mortifying to the British seamen, to see the trading vessels daily falling into the enemy's hands.

The Stanley armed brig, commanded by Lieutenant Whitworth, with five prizes, anchored in the midst of the French fleet during the night, supposing it to be British; and was boarded before the mistake could be discovered. Several tenders and advice-boats escaping over the flats, prevented the Hope, with a convoy from Halifax, from committing the same error.

From the time when the French squadron anchored off Shrewsbury, boats and small vessels were seen constantly passing to and from the shore, for supplies of water and provisions. On the 21st of July, this intercourse was observed to cease; and it was therefore conjectured, that some movement was in agitation. On the 22d, the wind blew fresh from the north-east, which favoured an attack on the British fleet. By eight in the morning, the French squadron appeared under way, and kept working to windward, as if to gain a proper position for crossing the bar, as soon as the tide should serve. The spring tide was then at the highest, and rose that afternoon thirty feet on the bar; so that every circumstance conspired to forward the expected attack. On the side of the British, every thing was at stake. If their squadron had been defeated, the transports and victuallers must have been destroyed; and the army would most probably have shared in the destiny of the fleet. Their spirit however did not sink under these apprehensions, but rose in proportion to the danger which called for its exertion: and if the enemy had dared to put it to the test, it aspired even to the hope of conquest. The French Commander, if his intentions were at first to hazard this attack, thought proper afterwards to alter them: and having kept the British fleet for some time in suspense, about three o'clock he changed his course, and stood to the southward. Under the impression, which these occurrences left upon the minds of the British naval and military officers in America, they considered themselves

selves as altogether forgotten or neglected by their country : and with difficulty suppressed sensations of indignation against the Naval Minister, to whom they imputed the blame of the imminent hazard to which they had been exposed ; without being furnished either with an adequate force to contend against it, or with timely intelligence to enable them to provide for their safety.

Had the French Squadron arrived a few days sooner than it did ; or had the evacuation of Philadelphia been delayed a few days latter ; M. d'Estaing might have surprised Lord Howe in the Delaware, with only two ships of sixty-four, one of fifty, and one of forty guns, and a few inferior frigates, encumbered with a fleet of transports, victuallers, and private traders, laden for the most part with the families of the refugees from Philadelphia, and the wrecks of their fortunes. In this event, the spirited conduct of the Vice-Admiral, the gallantry of his officers, and the bravery of his men, could have availed nothing against the superiority of the enemy's force. In the vain expectation of meeting his transports, General Clinton would have reached the shore with his troops exhausted by fatigue, the whole rebel force in his rear, his provisions almost expended, without a prospect of procuring a fresh supply ; without a possibility of retreat ; and with an enemy's squadron riding perhaps in triumph, where he expected to find a British fleet for the conveyance or protection of his army. But the French fleet had a tedious voyage to the American coast ; after having got sight of land, it lost twenty-four hours in chasing his Majesty's ship *Mermaid*, and forcing her ashore on Cape Henlopen, where she was wrecked : coming afterwards to an anchor in the Delaware, it remained inactive there forty-eight hours : and all these delays proved fortunate for the British affairs at this critical juncture.

The British Ministry, as soon as they knew, or suspected, what was the real destination of the squadron under M. d'Estaing, had prepared a force, which they deemed sufficient to cope with it ; and sent that force to sea, with the design of

counteracting its operations. When the French fleet had quitted the Mediterranean, and was seen shaping its course across the Atlantic, Vice-Admiral Byron received orders to pursue them to America; but in the course of his voyage, met with the disasters and impediments which have been already related. These were the unforeseen causes, which had exposed the squadron at New York, and the army on its retreat from Philadelphia, to so much hazard; but by succeeding occurrences, they were soon elucidated and explained.

On the French squadron standing to sea, Lord Howe sent instructions to the advice-boats, which were stationed without the bar, to follow them and observe their motions. M. d'Estaing, dissuaded by the pilots in his service, who were the best which the country afforded, from attempting to force the port of New York,* on account of the great depth of water which his largest ships drew, had stood to the southward with his squadron. He had been induced to adopt this measure, by the appearance of an easterly gale; which, as it would have blown directly on the coast, must have rendered his former situation extremely dangerous. The Vice-Admiral, however, while he remained unacquainted with his resolution to relinquish his design against New York, continued to keep all persons at their respective posts, in readiness to receive him. His Lordship received intelligence on the 26th, that the French squadron had been seen on the morning of the 23d, about thirty leagues from the land, in the latitude of the Delaware, steering by the wind, which was then at east, on the larboard tack. The Delaware frigate was accordingly ordered to look out: and on the same day, the fleet received an unexpected reinforcement, by the arrival of the Renown from the West Indies. Even a single fifty gun ship was at this time deemed an important accession of strength; especially, as she had narrowly escaped the enemy, through the rear of whose fleet she had passed unnoticed, in the dusk of the preceding evening. On that day also, the Dispatch sloop of war returned from Halifax, where she

* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, vol. iii. page 156.

she had been sent by his Lordship, as soon as he was ascertained of the arrival of the French fleet in the Delaware. The reason of his sending her there was, that she might bring to his support Admiral Byron's squadron, which, as he was informed by the Admiralty, had been destined for that port; a destination that astonished all the naval officers and seamen at New York. By the Dispatch, however, he received no account of Admiral Byron; but was informed, that Captain Fielding of the *Diamond*, who commanded his Majesty's ships at Halifax, from the moment in which he had heard that a French fleet was expected on the American coast, had used the utmost diligence in getting the *Raisonable* and *Centurion* refitted, and had sent them to join his Lordship: in a few days, they both arrived in safety at New York. The *Raisonable* narrowly escaped the French fleet, having seen them on the evening of the 27th, steering for Rhode Island. If these ships had appeared a few days sooner, either they must have been prevented from forming a junction with Lord Howe, or our forces at the Hook must have had the mortification to see them captured by the enemy. The same must have been the fate of the *Cornwall* of seventy-four guns, one of Admiral Byron's squadron, which crossed the bar at Sandy Hook on the 30th, and brought the first certain intelligence of this long looked-for reinforcement; of its detention in England; and of the disasters which had befallen it, on its voyage to America. In a violent gale on the 3d of July, she had been separated from the fleet, whose rendezvous it should seem had been altered, as she made directly for Sandy Hook, without going first to Halifax.

Congress having determined on an enterprise against Newport in Rhode Island, their resolution was communicated to M. d'Estaing, who, by the request of General Washington, consented to enter that harbour, and second his operations. Leaving the French Admiral to prosecute his voyage to Newport, we shall turn our attention to Vice-Admiral Byron and his fleet; and also to the operations of Sir Robert Pigot at

Rhode Island. Vice-Admiral Byron, with his squadron,* sailed from Plymouth Sound on the 9th of June, and worked out of the channel against a fresh gale of wind at south-west. In latitude $49^{\circ} 4' N.$ longitude $26^{\circ} 48' W.$ from the Lizard, on the 3d of July, his fleet was separated in a violent gale at north, with excessive heavy rain. The storm abated at eight o'clock in the evening of the fourth; when only the *Princess Royal*, *Invincible*, *Culloden*, and *Guadaloupe*, of the squadron, were to be seen. In the course of the voyage they met with very thick weather, and at different times these four ships separated; so that on the 11th of August, the Vice-Admiral's ship, viz. the *Princess Royal*, was left alone. He exerted himself to reach Sandy Hook;† but on account of contrary winds made slow progress. On the 18th of August, at five o'clock in the morning, he discovered twelve sail at anchor, about nine or ten miles to leeward; Sandy Hook bearing North, distant about twenty-eight leagues, and immediately bore away for them. He soon perceived that they were large ships, and that several of them got under way and made signals to each other, which he did not understand. He therefore hauled his wind to the westward, in order to clear ship, and at half past seven tacked, having got ready for action. At nine, he tacked again, and stood to the westward; two ships of the line being then in chace of him, the smallest of which gained on him very fast. On his making the private signal for the American squadron, it was not answered. By this time the fleet which he had seen had disappeared: and soon after that, the headmost of the two chasing ships, backed her mizen-top-sail, to let the sternmost (a ship of seventy-four guns) come up. When she joined her companion, they made a signal, and both of them bore away to rejoin their fleet. This surprised Vice-Admiral Byron very much; because, if they had continued the chace,

* See Note 91.

† This is another proof, that the rendezvous was changed from Halifax to Sandy Hook. See Mr. Byron's public letter to Mr. Stephens, dated Halifax harbour, August 27th, 1778.

chace, by their superior sailing, they might have been alongside of him in two hours. He was now certain, that this must have been the French fleet: and under this conviction, he judged it improper to proceed alone to Sandy Hook, or to attempt to go to Rhode Island, as the enemy's squadron lay directly between him and both these places. He therefore determined to make for Halifax, where he arrived on the 26th of August. There, he found the Culloden; the only one of his squadron which he had met since they were parted by the storm. Her Commander, after his separation from the Vice-Admiral's fleet, had judged it most expedient to steer for that harbour, which he reached on the 16th. Both ships were refitted with all possible expedition, and having got a supply of water and provisions, the Vice-Admiral sailed from Halifax, with the Culloden, Diamond frigate, and Dispatch sloop. He took with him the two last, because they were clean ships, and their Commanders well acquainted with the navigation of the coast. Captain Fielding of the Diamond had the command of his Majesty's ships employed on the coast of Nova Scotia; but the Vice-Admiral judged it expedient to take him with him, and directed Sir George Collier to take the charge with which he had been intrusted.

Major-General Sir Robert Pigot commanded a considerable corps of infantry at Rhode Island; † but Sir Henry Clinton having received intelligence, that General Washington had detached Major-General Sullivan to Providence, with a large body of troops to attack him, sent a detachment of five battalions, under Major-General Prescott to reinforce Sir Robert Pigot. The Congress had selected General Sullivan for this enterprise, and the preparations which he had made for it were

Y 3

such.

† Garrison at Rhode Island.

Twenty-second	} British Regiments.	Landgrave,	} Hessians.
Thirty-eighth -		Ditmols, -	
Forty-third - -		Bymon, - -	
Fifty-fourth - -		Kyue, - - -	

Reinforcement.

Two battalions of Anspach, and three battalions of Loyal Americans.

such as had rendered the rebels extremely sanguine in their hopes of success. So great was the desire of the people to co-operate with their new allies in this expedition, that some thousands of volunteers, gentlemen, and others, from Boston, Salem, Newbury Port, Portsmouth, and other places, engaged in the service. When M. d'Estaing arrived off Point Judith, on the 29th of July, the pilots who were to conduct his fleet into the harbour were not assembled. This occasioned a delay; and General Sullivan wrote to him, that he could not be ready to co-operate with him for some days. General Washington sent Major-General Green to assist General Sullivan; and probably to gratify the French Admiral, he sent also the Marquis de la Fayette, at the head of two thousand of his best troops; who, by a very rapid march, joined him in time to partake in the service.

July Sir Robert Pigot took every measure, that could be expected from a good officer, for defending the post committed to his charge; and was well seconded by Captain John Brisbane of the Flora, on whom the command of his Majesty's ships at Rhode Island had devolved, when Captain Griffith sailed in the Nonfuch for New York. The French fleet appeared off the harbour about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, on the 29th of June, and the Anspach regiments and Brown's provincial corps, which were on Conanicut island, were immediately withdrawn, leaving a detachment in the redoubts. Next morning, two of the enemy's line of battle ships came up the Narraganset passage. The battery on Fox-hill hulled the headmost of them twice. She returned the fire and stood on; and then both of them anchored at the north end of Conanicut. Two large French frigates and a brig went up the Seconet passage; but upon making towards the King's-fisher floop and the gallies, they were set on fire and blown up.

On the 31st of July, the two line of battle ships endeavoured to rejoin their fleet, which had kept tacking backwards and forwards the whole day; and in the evening, anchored off Brenton's-ledge, where they had anchored on their first arrival

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at Rhode Island. Sir Robert Pigot found it necessary to remove the troops from the redoubts on the island of Conanicut; and at the same time, to bring off the oxen and sheep, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands. While this was doing, the guns on the batteries on the Beaver's-tail and Dumplings were rendered unserviceable. He ordered all the regiments to be ready, on a moment's warning, to repair to the advanced posts, and the out-detachments to retire within the redoubts; as he intended to make a stand there, against any force that might attack him. He likewise had the commissaries and naval stores removed from the town of Newport to the ropewalk. On the 2d of August, the French put two guns on the islands called the Dumplings; and next day, took possession of the island of Conanicut. Sir Robert Pigot ordered a redoubt to be erected to secure the gorge from Brenton's-neck: and lest the enemy should make a landing there, all the cattle and teams of the island were drove in within the lines, a milch cow only was left for the use of each family; and every carriage and intrenching-tool was secured, as the best means that could be devised for impeding the progress of the invading army.

Captain Brisbane was extremely active in his department, and took the most proper measures, to prevent the rebels from making good their landing on the island; but the arrival of the French fleet rendered his precautions abortive, and obliged him, on the 7th of August, to destroy the Lark, Orpheus, Juno, and Cerberus frigates; which he could not bring back to the inner harbour of Newport. He ordered their crews to join the garrison. The Flora frigate and Fortune sloop were sunk in the outer harbour; and at the entrance of the inner harbour, several large vessels were also sunk, to prevent the French Admiral from bringing his ships too near to the works and encampment. A great quantity of combustibles were likewise collected, to be employed against the enemy as occasion might offer.

On the 8th, about noon, the French squadron got under way, and made for the harbour, in a line of battle ahead,

standing in under an easy sail. About four o'clock in the afternoon, when they came within cannon-shot of the shore, they began a brisk cannonade on Brenton's Point, Goat island, and the north batteries. These were manned by the seamen of the destroyed frigates, under the command of Captain Christian, and Lieutenants Forrest and Otway of the navy, who, with great spirit, returned a well-directed fire.

The last of these works had been previously strengthened; and some transport ships had been sunk in its front, to block up the passage between it and Rose island. Having passed the batteries, the French fleet came to an anchor between Goat island and Conanicut, the Admiral's ship being about three quarters of a mile to the southward from Gould's island; and the rest, amounting to nine sail of the line and a frigate, in a line ahead towards the north end of Conanicut. Two of their line of battle ships continued in the Narraganset passage, as did two frigates in the Seconnet passage.*

On the 9th in the morning, the garrison of Newport were rejoiced at the sight of the British fleet, under Lord Howe, (of which in its proper place). On the tenth, at noon, the whole of the French fleet got under way; and sailed out of the harbour. On their way out, they cannonaded the batteries, in the same manner as when they entered the port; and the garrison returned their fire with equal spirit. Fortunately, by the cannonade from the ships on both days, not a man was hurt; nor any injury done, except to some houses in the town of Newport.

Expresses had been sent from Rhode Island to Lord Howe at New York, to inform him of the proceedings of the enemy, and of the progress of their attack. When his Lordship found that the French fleet was separated, for the purpose of co-operating with the rebel army, he considered this circumstance as affording him a favourable opportunity to attempt the relief of the garrison, and hastened his preparations for sailing with the squadron. The 23d regiment, under the command of
Lieutenant-

* See Note 92.

Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, came as volunteers to serve on board the fleet, and to relieve the grenadiers and light-infantry, whom Sir Henry Clinton had ordered to be re-embodied into battalions. Two additional fireships, constructed by the Vice-Admiral's orders, joined the fleet at Sandy Hook; and all things were in readiness for putting to sea by the first of August. The signal to weigh had scarcely been made, when the wind veered round to the southward; and not returning fair, so as to correspond with the time of highwater on the bar, until the morning of the sixth, the fleet was unavoidably detained. The Vice-Admiral then put to sea, and on the ninth anchored off Judith Point; when he received full information from Sir Robert Pigot, and Captain Brisbane, of the present state of the attack, the position of the French fleet, and the steps he had been obliged to take. From this information, the position of the French fleet, and their superiority in the size and number of their line of battle ships and weight of metal, Lord Howe was of opinion, that it was impracticable for him to afford Sir Robert Pigot any essential relief.

The wind changing to the northward on the morning of the 10th, the French Admiral stood out of the port, with twelve sail of the line and three frigates: but Lord Howe considered this force as too far superior to that under his command, to admit of his attacking it, with any probable prospect of success, whilst the enemy possessed the weather-gage. His Lordship therefore steered, with the fleet under his command, so as to form in order of battle to the southward; hoping, from the appearance of the weather, that latter in the day, the wind might come from the sea, which would give him that advantage. He kept only the fireships with him; and sent orders for the bombketches and gallies to sail, with the Sphynx frigate, for New York.

The enemy being equally attentive to the same object, no material advantage resulted from an alteration in the direction of the wind, which blew for a short time to the southward of east. Lord Howe continued the same course the rest of the day, under a proportion of sail for the Phoenix, Experiment, and

and Pearl, which had the three fireships in tow, to keep them in company with the rest of the squadron. The Count d'Estaing kept advancing with a press of sail, and his line not well formed. When night came on, the Apollo was ordered by Lord Howe to stand between the two fleets, and, by private signals, to intimate the enemy's situation, as long as she could keep them in sight. By these means the two fleets, at dawn of day on the 11th, found themselves in the same relative position, though rather at a greater distance than in the preceding evening : the headmost ships of the French squadron being then hull-down.

The wind still continuing at east-north-east, and blowing fresh, the weather extremely thick and hazy, and Lord Howe having expectations, by standing to the southward, to gain the wind of the enemy, proposed to effect this by successive changes of his course ; or, if this attempt should fail, he would have it in his power to wait their approach, with the squadron formed in a line of battle ahead from the wind to starboard. About four in the evening, his Lordship made the signal for the line of battle ships to close to the centre ; which they did by shortening sail. At the same time, the fleet beheld him take a step, of which they could not but approve, and which was highly necessary in his present situation. It has been acknowledged, by the best naval officers, that a station in the line is the most improper that a Commander in Chief can occupy in the time of action ; because, in this situation, it is impossible for him to see the operations of the fleets, and of course he cannot be qualified for issuing the orders, necessary either to the preservation of his own ships, or to the discomfiture of those of the enemy. Although many allow the propriety of this conduct, few would have the magnanimity, so far to condemn the censure, which might arise from a misconstruction of the motive, as to put it into practice. Doubtless the personal courage of no officer could be better established, than that of his Lordship already was : and on the present occasion, when he was to engage a fleet so much superior to that which he commanded, he could
look

look for success, only by a prompt and critical exertion of his professional skill and abilities.

The Vice-Admiral, therefore, shifted his flag from the Eagle to the Apollo frigate, leaving the Eagle in the centre, and moving to a convenient distance to see the whole line. As he gained, by this manœuvre, a nearer view of the French fleet, he perceived that M. d'Estaing had placed his largest ships in the van of his fleet; and therefore directed the rear of the British fleet to be strengthened, by making the signal for the Cornwall to move from the centre, and change places with the Centurion. The enemy's van, now under top-sails, and between two and three miles distant, had altered their bearings since the morning, from east-north-east to south-south-east; and at four o'clock in the afternoon, the French Admiral formed his line to leeward to engage the British fleet. On observing this, Lord Howe crossed through the interstices of his own line, with his frigates and fireships; and in a few minutes after that, made the signal for the line of battle ships to shorten sail, and close to the centre.

In this movement he was obeyed with alacrity and success; as, indeed, he had been in the several manœuvres he had put in practice, either to gain the wind, or for other purposes, preparatory to the intended attack. In a little time, the French squadron bore away to the southward. This was apparently owing to the state of the weather; which, by the wind increasing, with frequent rain, was very unfavourable for coming to action. The British ships were obliged to be under close reefed top-sails; and the sea ran so high, that Lord Howe was compelled to remain on board the Apollo frigate; from which he made the signal, that he meant to lie-to for the night, on the starboard tack, to prevent separation. Yet, so dark and hazy was the weather, and to such violence did the gale increase, that on the morning of the 12th, the blue division was totally separated from the fleet. The centre and van, with most of the frigates and fireships, kept pretty well together. At noon, the squadron was alarmed by a signal of distress from
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the Apollo, and in a few minutes afterwards, her main top-mast went overboard. Her crew had been obliged to cut it away in order to save the main-mast, which was dangerously sprung in the partners. At night, she lost her fore-top-mast; and soon after, separated from the fleet. In the evening of the 13th, the weather became more moderate, and his Lordship removed his flag on board the Phoenix, being then in company with the Centurion, Ardent, Richmond, Vigilant, and Roebuck. He proceeded to look for the dispersed ships, having previously sent the Roebuck, which lost the top of her mizen-mast, to attend the Apollo to Sandy Hook. He then hoisted his flag on board the Centurion. In the morning of the 15th, upon hearing several guns to the southward, he proceeded in that direction. About twenty leagues to the eastward of Cape May, he discovered ten sail of the French squadron, some of which were at anchor. He returned to the Phoenix, and left the Centurion in a proper station for directing to the appointed rendezvous, any of the dispersed ships that might fall in her way, or any of the vessels belonging to Vice-Admiral Byron's squadron, that might arrive on the coast. Besides the damages already mentioned, his Lordship was informed, on rejoining the rest of the squadron at Sandy Hook, on the evening of the 17th, that the Cornwall had sprung her main-mast, the Raifonable her bowsprit, and that the fireships were also so much damaged by the wet, as to require some considerable time before they could be fit for service; and that the Isis had been much shattered, in a severe action with one of the enemy's seventy-four gun ships.

The French squadron suffered still more materially from the storm than the British, and their damages had nearly been attended with most serious and important consequences. In the evening of the 18th, towards dusk, Captain Dawson, in the Renown of fifty guns, fell in with the Languedoc of ninety guns, totally dismasted. M. d'Estaing was on board of this ship. On the Renown running down close under her lee, Captain Dawson was hailed and ordered to shew his colours; upon

upon which he fired all his upper-deck guns into her, and then stood off to windward. Opening his lower ports, he wore round under her stern, and at half cable's length poured into her three broadsides; which, besides doing other damages, shot away her rudder. The enemy were in the greatest consternation: and having no guns which they could bring to bear against the *Renown*, except their stern-chace, they were forced to run out two guns from their stern-gallery; but the fire from the *Renown* was so superior to that of the *Languedoc*, that the enemy considered themselves as lost, and threw a number of valuable papers overboard. The night being extremely dark, and the wind blowing fresh, Captain Dawson unfortunately resolved to lie-to all night, and renew the action in the morning; but the first broadside which he fired, alarmed six French ships of the line, and soon brought them to the assistance of their distressed Admiral. Three of them immediately gave chase to the *Renown*, the other three remained with the *Languedoc*; and Captain Dawson, by setting all the sail he could carry, made his escape. It is probable, that had he persevered in the action for half an hour longer in the night, *M. d'Estaing* had been reduced to the necessity of striking his colours; in which event, he might indeed have been difficulted to conduct his prize into port, but he would have had it in his power to have shifted the officers and crew, and might have set the *Languedoc* on fire.

The same night in which this action was fought, Commodore Hotham, in the *Preston* of fifty guns, crossed the *Tonnant* of eighty guns, with only her main-mast standing; he immediately attacked her, continued the engagement for some hours, killed a great number of her men, and would have compelled her to surrender, if the firing had not brought some of the French squadron to her relief; on whose approach, he was obliged to desist, and make off with all possible speed.

A third action was also fought that day, by another ship of Lord Howe's squadron, the *Isis* of fifty guns, commanded by Captain John Raynor, who was chased by the *Cæsar*, a French ship

ship of war of seventy-four guns, carrying a Rear-Admiral's flag at the mizen-mast-head. Captain Raynor was making for the appointed rendezvous of the fleet, when, in the afternoon, he discovered the enemy's ship, and observing that she was greatly superior in force to the *Isis*, he made all the sail he could from her; but the enemy's ship sailing much better than the *Isis*, in a few hours was alongside of her. When the enemy found that they could overtake the *Isis*, they prepared every thing for battle on the side of the *Cæsar*, on which they thought it most probable that the engagement would take place. This was suspected by Captain Raynor and his officers, who did not allow them to be undeceived, until it was too late to remedy their error. When the *Cæsar* was almost within gun-shot, Captain Raynor let the *Isis* fall to leeward, by which means the unprepared broadside of the French ship came opposite to her. This unexpected manœuvre threw the enemy into the greatest confusion, and gave their opponents a very considerable advantage, of which they failed not to avail themselves. The two ships were soon alongside of one another, and a very warm action commenced. The skill and address of Captain Raynor and his officers were not more conspicuous before the action, than their ardour and bravery while the unequal contest lasted. The enemy finding that, notwithstanding their great superiority, they made no impression on the *Isis*, amazed at the briskness of the fire kept up by so small a ship, were forced to put before the wind, and set all the sail they could to make their escape. The *Isis*, having suffered greatly in her masts and rigging, at which the enemy had chiefly aimed, was unable to pursue the French ship. The British fire was directed to better purpose. The *Cæsar* carried the flag of the famous philosopher and circumnavigator, M. de Bougainville, who was severely wounded in the arm, the First Lieutenant lost his leg, and seventy men were killed or wounded. On board the *Isis*, only one man was killed, and fourteen wounded. The young Duke of Ancafter, who had arrived from England only a day before the fleet sailed, had embarked

as a volunteer in this ship, and greatly distinguished himself during the action, as did Captain Furneaux late of the *Syren*. The modest detail which Captain Raynor gave the public of this brilliant action, shewed his merit with double lustre : and his country had soon great reason to lament being deprived of such an excellent officer.*

On the 9th of August, when the rebel forces, under General Sullivan, made good their landing at Howland's ferry in Rhode Island, they were greatly depressed by finding that the French fleet had left the harbour. The weather was so exceedingly wet, that their operations were greatly retarded ; particularly their transporting of stores, and other requisites necessary to commence the siege. At last, however, on the 14th, a large body of their troops took possession of Honyman's-hill.

To repel any attempts from that quarter, a breastwork had been raised, and strengthened by abatis, along the heights from Green-end to Irish's redoubt. On the 17th, the enemy were discovered breaking ground on Honyman's-hill, erecting a battery for cannon there ; another on their right, on the Green-end road ; and a third, for five guns, in a direct line with the former. Sir Robert Pigot endeavoured to obstruct these works, by keeping up a continual fire on them ; but on the 19th, the rebels opened another battery, which obliged him to remove his camp more to the rear. The enemy continued in making their approaches, and the garrison in erecting works to counteract them ; when on the 19th, at noon, the French fleet came once more in view. Seemingly much disabled, they came to an anchor off the port, where they continued till the 22d, when they finally disappeared, and failed for the harbour of Boston.

When the French fleet left Rhode Island, the rebels were constructing two additional batteries, much lower down the hill than the former ; one on the right for five, the other on the

* He died at sea, August 25th, 1780, being then Captain of the *Inflexible* of sixty-four guns.

the left of Green-end for seven guns. Both of these were opened next day. Sir Robert Pigot finding it necessary to attempt to silence them, ordered a battery for seven heavy guns to be raised, on commanding ground, near Green-end; but from the obstructions which the work received from the enemy's fire, it could not be completed till the 25th. Its effects, however, soon became visible; for the rebels thought fit, soon after it was opened, to close the embrasures of their lower batteries, and to construct them for mortars. During this time, they had been employed on the height of the east road, in making a battery for thirteen-inch mortars, and had also begun a third approach in front, and to the right of their lower batteries.

It was observed, on the 26th, that the rebels discontinued their works; and Sir Robert Pigot was informed by deserters, that they were removing their officers' baggage and heavy artillery. He therefore detached, in the night, Major Bruce of the 54th regiment, with one hundred men, over Easton's beach in quest of intelligence; and he, with great address, and without sustaining any loss, surprised and brought off a piquet of two officers and twenty-five men: but the accounts which they gave were vague and uncertain.

On the 27th, the Sphynx and two other war ships arrived at Rhode Island, and brought the agreeable news that Sir Henry Clinton was on his way, with a great reinforcement to the garrison. On the 28th, the Vigilant galley took a station to cover the left flank of the army: and at ten o'clock afternoon, the rebels made an attempt to surprise a subaltern's piquet, but were repulsed with loss, and obliged to retreat.

On the 29th, at day-break, it was discovered that the enemy had retreated during the night: upon which, Major-General Prescott was ordered to detach a regiment from the second line under his command, over Easton's beach, towards the left flank of their encampment; and a part of Brown's corps was directed to take possession of their works. Brigadier-General Smith was, at the same time, sent by the east road, with the

22d and 43d regiments, and the flank companies of the 38th and 54th regiments; while Major-General Losberg was ordered to march by the west, with the Hessian chasseurs and Anspach regiments of Voit and Seboth, to annoy them in their retreat. On receiving a report from Brigadier-General Smith, that the rebels made a stand, and were in force upon Quaker's-hill, Sir Robert Pigot ordered the 54th, and the Hessian regiment of Huyn, with part of Brown's corps, to support him; but before they could come to his assistance, his perseverance, and the spirited behaviour of the troops under his command, had gained possession of the strong post of Quaker's-hill, and obliged the rebels to retire to their works at the north end of the island. On hearing a smart fire from the chasseurs, who were engaged on the west road, Sir Robert sent Colonel Fanning's corps of provincials to join General Losberg, who obliged the rebels to quit two redoubts made to cover their retreat, drove them before him, and took possession of Turkey-hill. Towards evening, an attempt being made by the enemy to surround and cut off the chasseurs, who were advanced on the left, the regiments of Fanning and Huyn were ordered to march to their support. After a smart engagement, they compelled them to retreat to their main-body on Windmill-hill, an advantageous situation, on which they had taken post, and in strengthening of which they had employed themselves after raising the siege.

The return of the French squadron to their anchorage off the harbour of Rhode Island, even in their disabled state, greatly alarmed Sir Robert Pigot. He dreaded that the rebel army would return and renew their approaches: and having no accounts of the British fleet, he was apprehensive that they had also been disabled in the storm, and obliged to return to Sandy Hook; and that M. d'Estaing would, in that event, immediately re-enter the harbour, second the operations of the besiegers, and place his ships in such positions as to enfilade his camp with their fire. Thus situated, he was anxious to get intelligence of his alarming situation, conveyed to Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Howe.

Lieutenant Stanhope of the navy offered himself for this service. A whale-boat was accordingly got ready, in which he embarked on the night of the 25th, escaped unobserved by the enemy, and after a short but boisterous passage reached Sandy Hook.* Here he found Lord Howe, who, as soon as his fleet was re-assembled, had given orders to have the disabled ships repaired with all possible expedition. The Isis, with the Apollo and fireships, were sent up to New York: and such stores were ordered from that place, as were necessary for repairing the ships that remained at Sandy Hook. On the 18th of August, the Experiment was sent out, to endeavour to obtain information of the state of the garrison at Rhode Island; her Captain, Sir James Wallace, being well acquainted with that harbour and the adjacent coast. The Ariel and Galatea were also sent to cruise; the one to the southward, the other to the northward.

The essential repairs requisite for so many ships, unavoidably employed several days; during which time, Lord Howe received information, that the French Squadron had returned to Rhode Island. On the 23d, the Experiment was chased into Long Island Sound by three of their large ships; and returned to the Hook by New York, through Hell-gate. She was the first two-decker that ever attempted that dangerous passage. The accounts of the return of the French fleet to Rhode Island, were confirmed by the Venus and Galatea frigates. The Captain of the latter reported, that he had seen eleven sail of the line, including the two dismasted ships, at anchor off the harbour of Newport on the evening of the 20th, and that he had left them in the same situation on the next day. This intelligence made Lord Howe extremely anxious to get to sea: and while he was waiting the tides to begin crossing the bar, the repairs of the disabled ships, except the Isis and Apollo, being nearly completed, Lieutenant Stanhope arrived from Rhode Island, with
dispatches

* He passed unperceived through the body of the French fleet; and coasting along the outward shore of Long Island, met with so heavy a sea as exposed his boat to be swamped every instant.

dispatches from Sir Robert Pigot. He stated, that the rebels had now advanced their batteries within fifteen hundred yards of the British works; but that although Sir Robert was under no apprehensions from any attempt which they could make on his front, if the French fleet, which had lately returned, should re-enter the harbour, it would make an alarming change in his situation. According to the original plan agreed upon between the rebels and the French, troops might be landed at Brenton's neck, and advance upon his rear; on which event, very fatal consequences might ensue. Every thing being now ready, Lord Howe crossed the bar, and was in the same night joined by the Experiment and fireships from New York, and by a number of volunteers for the Monmouth.* On the morning of the 25th he sailed for Rhode Island.

A strong reinforcement of troops, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, were also embarked at New York, and ready to proceed, by Long Island Sound, for the relief of the besieged at Newport. Lord Howe was to favour their approach, by endeavouring to draw off the French fleet, and bring them to action: but he was met at sea by the Galatea, with dispatches from Sir Robert Pigot, informing him, that M. d'Estaing had, in the night between the 21st and 22d, sailed with the fleet under his command, from his anchorage off Judith Point, and steered for Boston. He therefore detached the Nautilus, Sphynx, and Vigilant gallies, to Rhode Island, and stood on with the squadron in quest of the enemy. As it was not probable, that they would attempt to navigate their large ships, in their disabled state, through the south channel, within St. George's Bank, Lord Howe entertained some hope, that by following that course, he might intercept them on their approach to Boston bay. In this hope he was confirmed by the Commander of the Resistance rebel privateer, which had been

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taken

* This ship had arrived on the 18th of August. She was one of Vice-Admiral Byron's squadron, from which she had parted on the 4th of July; and had been much disabled in her masts, by the boisterous weather which she had encountered on her voyage.

taken by the Squadron on the 28th. He had been sent that day from Boston to look out for the French fleet, and to pilot them into Nantasket road; but as he had sailed down the channel, and seen nothing of them, he supposed they had steered round the bank.

Leaving Lord Howe in search of the French fleet, we shall turn our attention once more to the operations at Rhode Island.

The troops lay on their arms during the night, on the ground they had gained. Directions were given for bringing up the camp equipage and artillery, and other preparations made for driving the rebels from their redoubts; but by means of a great number of boats, they retreated, in the night of the 30th, across Bristol and Howland ferry, resigning back to the British troops, the entire possession of Rhode Island.

During these tedious and fatiguing operations, the behaviour of the officers and men, under Sir Robert Pigot's command, gave him the greatest satisfaction; and in his public letter, he bestowed on them the highest encomiums. He particularly commended Generals Lossberg and Smith; Colonel de Voit, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of the 22d, and Lieutenant-Colonel Marth of the 43d regiments. Captains Trench and Coors of the 54th regiment, Captain Barry of the 52d regiment, who was a volunteer on this occasion, and Captains Malsburg and Noltenius of the chassieurs; the officers and men of the royal regiment of artillery; and Captain Brisbane, and all the Captains, other officers; and men of the navy, by whom, the General said, he was enabled to man the different batteries, with their most experienced officers and best men, who by their example and constant attention, contributed much to the support of the defences; also, the marine corps. Nor can I conclude, said Sir Robert, without expressing my sincere acknowledgments to every officer and soldier under my command, and to the several departments, for their unwearied exertions to counteract so many difficulties.

The rebels attributed the miscarriage of this enterprise entirely

ly to their being deserted by M. d'Estaing. He had returned before Rhode Island on the 20th of September: and at seven in the evening of that day, Generals Green and M. de la Fayette went on board his ship, to consult with him on the measures proper to be pursued for ensuring success to the enterprise in which they were engaged. They urged M. de Estaing to return with his fleet into Newport harbour. He was apparently inclined to comply with their request; but all his Captains and principal officers were unfriendly to him. Being a land officer they deemed it an affront to their understandings, and a piece of injustice done to their merits and services, that he should have been promoted over their heads. They therefore crossed him in every measure, that seemed to open to him any prospect of reputation; in order, if possible, to bring him into disgrace. His instructions from the Court of France were, to go to Boston, if the fleet should meet with any misfortune; or if, as was expected, a superior British fleet should appear. All the officers insisted upon his following his instructions, and entered into a formal protest against his prosecuting the expedition any farther. On the 21st, Green and Fayette returned to the rebel camp, and made a report of what had passed. The next day letters were sent on board the Languedoc, from Generals Sullivan and Hancock; as also a protest, dated Camp before Newport, and signed by all the rebel Generals, against the Count's proceeding to Boston with the fleet under his command.* This was a sort of treatment to which M. d'Estaing had not been accustomed, and their violent remonstrances had not the effect which they vainly hoped they would produce: so far from complying with their requests, he returned a very spirited answer to the rebel Generals protest, and immediately sailed with his squadron for Boston. The French fleet had suffered considerable damage in the storm, besides what a few of his ships had sustained, in the partial actions they had with some of Lord Howe's squadron. On their return from the southward to Rhode Island, they fell in with

* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, vol. iii. page 162.

and took his Majesty's sloop *Senegal*, and *Thunder bombketch*.

When he reached Boston he was much disappointed, at finding neither provisions nor water ready for his ships : and when he wrote to Congress, explaining his conduct, he said, that it arose entirely from his instructions obliging him to attend to the situation of his squadron, and the advices of a superior naval force from Europe, and from his ignorance of what had become of Lord Howe's fleet. He also complained bitterly of the want of provisions and water, and of the protest of their Generals at Rhode Island.

On account of his retreat from Rhode Island, he was extremely unpopular at Boston. The mob insulted the French on several occasions, and frequently came to blows : such was their inveteracy, that the civil magistrates were sometimes obliged to interpose their authority, to put a stop to the disorders to which it gave rise. The retreat of M. d'Estaing from Newport, so effectually damped the resolution of many of the volunteers, that immediately on that event, they returned in multitudes to their homes ; and the rebel Generals employed against Rhode Island resolved, in a Council of War, to raise the siege of Newport ; to draw off the forces to the north end of the island ; to fortify a camp there, for securing a communication with the main ; and to continue in it, until it should be known whether or not the French fleet would speedily return to their assistance. The Marquis de la Fayette, at the request of the general officers, went to Boston to solicit M. d'Estaing to return with the fleet. The Count, however, would not consent to that measure ; but made a spirited offer, of leading in person the troops under his command from Boston, to co-operate with the rebels against Rhode Island. M. de la Fayette posted back with this answer : and on receiving it, the enemy resolved to abandon the enterprise.

Whilst the British fleet were repairing their damages at Sandy Hook and New York, Sir Henry Clinton had provided transports for the first battalion of light-infantry, the first battalion of grenadiers, and the third and fourth brigades, amounting

amounting almost to four thousand men, the command of whom he gave to Major-General Grey; with orders that as soon as Lord Howe had sailed, these troops should embark, and proceed by the way of the Sound, where they were to meet some frigates; and that they should be in readiness to join his Lordship at the east end of Long Island, and to act in concert with him, as circumstances might require. On the 27th of August, when this expedition was about to be put in motion, he received a letter from Lord Howe, inclosing one from Major-General Sir Robert Pigot, by which he was informed, that the French fleet had quitted the island; but that the rebels were still there in great force. On receiving this intelligence, Sir Henry Clinton judged it expedient to sail immediately to the relief of Rhode Island; but was detained by contrary winds until the 31st. Finding, on his arrival there, that the enemy had raised the siege, and retired to the continent, he resolved to proceed against New London, a town remarkable for fitting out a number of privateers; but when he was approaching that place, the wind became unfavourable, and continued so for twenty-four hours. He therefore quitted the fleet, and directed Major-General Grey to proceed to Bedford, another noted port for privateers, where there were, at that time, a number of captured ships.

General Grey accordingly sailed with the troops, escorted by the Carysfort frigate, and appeared off Bedford on the 5th of September, about six in the evening, when, by the assistance of the ships of war, the forces were speedily landed. The surprise was very complete, the enemy having only a few hours notice of their approach; and the object of the expedition was attained, and all the troops re-embarked by noon on the 6th. The stores deposited at Bedford, which were of great value, together with seventy privateers and ships, many of which had rich cargoes on board and were ready for sailing, were burnt. The only battery which the rebels had, was on the Fairhaven side of Accushnet river, it was an inclosed fort, with eleven pieces of cannon. They abandoned it, the guns were demolish-

ed, and the magazine blown up. General Grey was highly pleased with the conduct of the troops under his command. The spirit, zeal, and activity, which they displayed; but above all, their strict discipline and sobriety, in the midst of great temptation, merited high approbation. The loss sustained was only six men wounded, one of whom died the next day. As the wind was not favourable for the sailing of the fleet on the 6th and 7th, they were able only to haul a little farther from the shore. Advantage, however, was taken of this delay, by burning a large privateer ship which the rebels had on the stocks, and by sending a small armament of boats, escorted by two galleys, to destroy two or three vessels, which being at anchor in the stream, the troops had not been able to set on fire. The fleet sailed on the 8th; but, from the many difficulties which occur in passing out of Buzzard's Bay into the Vineyard Sound, through Quickse's-hole, and from the head winds which prevailed, it did not reach Holme's-hole harbour, in the island of Martha's Vineyard, until the 10th. The transports with the light-infantry, grenadiers, and 33d regiment, were anchored without the harbour, because General Grey had a view of employing those corps on a particular service, whilst the business of collecting cattle should be going on upon the island; but contrary winds obliged him to relinquish his designs.

No sooner did the fleet arrive off the harbour, than the inhabitants sent persons on board to ask the General's intentions with respect to them. He immediately required, that they should deliver to him the arms of the militia, the public money, three hundred oxen, and ten thousand sheep; the two last articles being exactly what they had made a tender of to Congress, for the use of their troops. They promised to send him all these articles, without delay; but he afterwards found it necessary to order small detachments into the island, and to detain the deputed inhabitants, in order to accelerate their compliance with his demands.

On the 12th, some vessels from Rhode Island joined the fleet;

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on board of which six thousand sheep, and one hundred and thirty cattle, were embarked. The 13th and 14th were employed in embarking cattle on board the transports from New York; in destroying some salt-works; in burning or taking what vessels and boats could be found in the neighbouring creeks and inlets; and in receiving the arms of the militia.* On the 15th, the fleet sailed for New York.

We shall now turn our attention to the proceedings of the fleet under the command of Lord Howe. It was the 30th before his Lordship was able to enter Boston bay; when his most advanced ships immediately made the signal for seeing the French squadron, which had arrived only a short time before him, at anchor there. He intended, next morning, to have taken a view of their position, with a design to attack them, if that could be done with any prospect of success; but was prevented from executing this plan, by a misfortune which befel the *St. Albans*. In the night, when putting in stays, she had got ashore near the point of Cape Cod, where the great depth of water, adjacent to the beach, afforded little previous notice of her danger. The weather proving temperate, she was got afloat again before the following night, without apparent damage, or any loss, except her two bower anchors, which it had been found necessary to cut away for lightening her. Being dropped close to the shore, it was impossible to recover them, during the short time the squadron remained there.

The stores and other furniture, that had been taken out of the *St. Albans* for relieving the ship, being replaced next morning, his Lordship proceeded with his squadron, with the wind in the south-west quarter, towards Boston; and arrived off the entrance of the port in the evening of the first of September.

The appearance of the British fleet, on the 30th of August, had caused great consternation not only in Boston, but also in the adjacent country. From that time to the 1st of September, great numbers of people were employed in strengthening the

* See Note 93.

the defences of the place, especially towards the sea; and the French squadron removed higher up the harbour, where they were covered by the works which had been erected on the several points of the shore, adjacent to the ground where they anchored. Lord Howe being of opinion, that the French meant to remain for some time at Boston, and deeming any attempt to attack them, in their present position, inexpedient and hazardous, resolved to return to the southward, to co-operate with Sir Robert Pigot, and to afford him all the assistance in his power. He accordingly sailed, in the morning of the second of September, from the Boston coast, and on the 4th arrived off Rhode Island; where he was informed, that the rebels had raised the siege of Newport, and that, on the 30th of August, they had made good their retreat to the continent.

He was joined while here, by the armament under the command of Major-General Grey, whose operations he intended to have covered, until the troops should return up Long Island Sound: but the wind changing to the eastward in the morning of the 9th, and the appearance of the weather becoming very unfavourable, he stood out to sea, to preserve his squadron from the hazardous intricacies of the navigation on that part of the coast. Previous to this, he had detached Commodore Hotham to Rhode Island, with the *Centurion*, *Preston*, and *St. Albans*, to take off the seamen and naval stores landed from the frigates which were destroyed there, when the French fleet had entered the harbour. The crew of the *Monmouth* becoming very sickly, that ship was ordered to proceed with all expedition to New York. His Lordship, with his squadron, arrived at Sandy Hook on the 11th of September.

No part of the service had been neglected by Lord Howe. As soon as he was informed, that Halifax was the rendezvous of Vice-Admiral Byron and his fleet, he had ordered frigates to be stationed in the latitudes in which they were most likely to fall in with him, for the purpose of giving him all the information that he might be desirous of obtaining. Until the arrival

arrival of the Cornwall, his Lordship knew not that the rendezvous of that ill-fated squadron, had been changed from Halifax to Sandy Hook ; but immediately on receiving this information, he stationed several vessels from fifteen to thirty leagues south-east from Sandy Hook, for the express purpose of meeting with them. The Senegal, which was one of these ships, had the misfortune to be taken by the French squadron, on its return back from the Delaware to Rhode Island. The Vice-Admiral, on his return to Sandy Hook, found Rear-Admiral Parker, and six sail of the line* of Vice-Admiral Byron's squadron, which had arrived there on the 29th, with their crews much exhausted by a disastrous voyage, and their rigging in a very shattered condition.

Lord Howe, having done every thing in his power for the benefit of his country, resolved, for the recovery of his health, to avail himself of his Majesty's permission to return to England. By a happy mixture of prudent and bold measures ; by a series of manœuvres, which naval tactics were scarcely thought capable of exhibiting ; by an indefatigable zeal ; and an ardent attention to take advantage of every occurrence ; by an unconquerable and persevering spirit, with which his example inspired every officer and seaman under his command ; he saved his country from disgrace, and perhaps from ruin. While the annals of Britain are read, they will recal to memory his important services : and his fame must appear with uncommon lustre, while it is recollected, that, with forces far inferior in strength to those of his opponents, he defeated all the great designs of an active and enterprising enemy ; protected the army and fleet of transports at New York ; raised the siege of Rhode Island ; and compelled the French squadron to seek an asylum in the harbour of Boston, from which their shattered condition rendered them long unable to depart. On the 25th of September, he resigned the command of the fleet to Rear-Admiral Gambier ; and, most justly admired and regretted by the whole army and navy, sailed for England : and fortunately

* Royal Oak, Conqueror, Fame, Sultan, Bedford, and Grafton.

nately arrived safe at St. Helen's on the 26th of October.†

On the 26th of September, Vice-Admiral Byron, in the *Princess Royal*, arrived at Sandy Hook from Halifax; brought with him the *Culloden*, *Diamond*, and two sloops, and was soon after joined by the *Albion*. These were all the ships of this squadron, that ever reached their rendezvous in America. So unfortunate had it been, that besides the damages sustained by the *Cornwall* and *Monmouth*, the *Grafton* and *Bedford* had their main-masts sprung; the *Royal Oak* her top-masts, and the *Sultan* her main-mast in two places: she also lost all her top-masts, and the *Albion* lost her main-mast and all her top-masts. The *Russell* sustained so much damage, that she was obliged to bear away for Lisbon, and to sail from that for England. The *Invincible*, Commodore Evans, after being nearly wrecked on Nantucket shoals, was forced to steer for St. John's in Newfoundland, where she arrived in a very crippled state. As soon as she was refitted, she proceeded for England, along with the *Guadaloupe*, which had likewise put into that port.

When General Grey returned with the troops under his command to New York, Sir Henry Clinton proposed to take a forward position with the army, in order to procure a supply of forage, to observe the motions of the rebel army, and to favour an expedition intended against Egg harbour in East Jersey, where the enemy had a number of privateers, and considerable salt-works.

Accordingly, on the 22d of September, Lord Cornwallis, with a considerable corps, took a position between Newbridge,
on

† On the 22d of October, about seven in the morning, in the chops of the British Channel, his Lordship fell in with three French ships of the line, being part of a squadron commanded by M. de la Mothe Piquet. By that happy presence of mind which never forsook him in the greatest dangers, he ordered a press of sail to be immediately set, by which means the *Eagle* obtained so great a distance, by the time she was discovered by the Commodore, and ships ordered in chase, that although they made the greatest efforts to come up with her, they had gained but little ground when it became dark; and she escaped by changing her course in the night.

on Hackinsack river in Jersey, and Hudson's river; and at the same time, Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, with another strong corps, took a position between Wepperham, on Hudson's river, and the Brûnx. Thus situated, it was in the power of General Clinton, by the assistance of the navy and the flat-boats, to form a junction of these two corps, on either side of Hudson's river, in twenty-four hours; while, as his Majesty's forces were masters of the navigation of that river as high as the Highlands, General Washington could not assemble the army under his command in ten days. To have done this in Jersey, he must have descended from his mountains, and risked a general action, in a country little favourable to his plan of operations. By this movement, the provinces of Jersey and New York were opened, and the General obtained a very considerable supply of provisions. Lord Cornwallis having received intelligence, that a large body of militia, and Colonel Baylor's regiment of light dragoons, were assembled in the neighbourhood of Taapan, in order to interrupt his foraging parties, a plan was formed, on the evening of the 27th, for surprising them. Three deserters from the right column alarmed the militia, who were posted near New Taapan, by which means they made their escape: but the left column, commanded by Major-General Grey, was so fortunate as not to be discovered. The Major-General conducted his march with so much order and silence, and made so good a disposition to surround the village of Old Taapan, where the regiment of dragoons lay, that they were completely surprised, and very few of them escaped being either killed or taken. He likewise fell in with a party of rebel militia, and immediately dispersed them, killing some and making others prisoners. The whole loss, on the part of the King's forces, was one man of the second battalion of light-infantry; which corps had the principal share in the action, in which it behaved with spirit and alacrity.

The expedition mentioned, as intended against Egg harbour, was a conjunct one. The command of the troops employed in it, was conferred on Captain Ferguson of the 70th regiment;

stroying a large salt-work and some storehouses, on the morning of the 9th, rejoined the ships.

The fleet was detained in the harbour some days by cross winds : and, on the 12th, a Captain, a serjeant, and six men of Polaski's* legion deserted to them, and informed Captain Ferguson, that he had cantoned his corps, consisting of three companies of foot and three troops of horse, a detachment of artillery, and one brass field-piece, within a mile of a bridge. It appeared easy to the Captain to seize this bridge, and to retreat from it. He accordingly brought Captain Collins to enter into his designs : and both agreed to employ an idle day in making an attempt, the safety of which they did not doubt, and the success of which seemed highly probable. For this purpose, a detachment of two hundred and fifty men were embarked on the evening of the 14th ; and after rowing ten miles, were landed at four o'clock in the morning of the 15th, within a mile of the defile, which Captain Ferguson happily secured. Leaving fifty men for its defence, he pushed forward upon the infantry of Polaski's legion, who were cantoned in three different houses, and almost entirely cut them to pieces. His troops numbered fifty of the enemy killed, and several officers ; among whom, as they afterwards learned, there was a Lieutenant-Colonel,† a Captain, and an Adjutant. It being a night attack, little quarter could be given ; so that they made only five prisoners. Captain Ferguson did not judge it prudent to push his success any farther ; but, as soon as the service was performed, retreated to his boats, and embarked in security. The Captain, who deserted from Polaski's corps, was a Frenchman of the name of Bromville : and he informed Captain Ferguson, that Mr. Polaski had lately, in public orders, directed no quarter to be given. Captain Ferguson justly observes, " that " it was with particular satisfaction, that the detachment march- " ed against a man capable of issuing an order so unworthy of " a gentle-

* Polaski was one of the infamous miscreants who attempted to assassinate the King of Poland.

† Baco de Bosc.

“ a gentleman and a soldier.” What a contrast there is, between Polaski and the humane Ferguson, who commanded on this enterprize? In his letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he says, “ We had an opportunity of destroying part of the baggage and “ equipage of Polaski’s legion, by burning their quarters ; but as “ the houses belonged to some inoffensive Quakers, who, I am “ afraid, have sufficiently suffered already in consequence of a “ a night’s scramble, I know, Sir, that you will think with “ us, that the injury to be thereby done to the enemy, would “ not have compensated for the sufferings of these innocent “ people.” Whilst the fleet was waiting a wind to get out of this inlet, a small rebel privateer appeared off the harbour’s mouth, and it being calm, Captain Collins ordered the boats of the fleet to row out and board her. On their approach, her crew took to their boat and got ashore. The vessel mounted only six swivels, and one two pounder.

Both Captains Collins and Ferguson were much pleased with the spirit and behaviour of the officers and men under their respective commands, and with the harmony which subsisted between the two corps. On the 16th of October, this little armament returned to Sandy Hook.

Vice-Admiral Byron having refitted his ships, sailed, on the 18th of October, from Sandy Hook for Boston, in search of M. d’Estaing’s fleet. He had been only a few days on that station, when he was overtaken by a violent storm, which greatly injured his squadron. The Somerset run ashore on Cape Cod, and was wrecked ; and seventy of her crew were drowned. The Culloden was dismasted ; and, being driven far to the eastward, could not regain the American coast. After suffering severely, she was forced to bear away for England, and arrived in great distress at Milford Haven. The Vice-Admiral, after collecting his squadron as well as he could, put into Rhode Island to refit. In this storm, the Zebra sloop was wrecked near Egg harbour, but happily her crew were saved.

It may now be proper to observe, that though M. d’Estaing was at the head of a powerful fleet, belonging to the principal

ally of the rebellious provinces in North America; and though he was sent on purpose to promote their interests and to second their efforts, he had little reason to be pleased with the treatment which both he and his people received at Boston. From the above considerations, it is natural to suppose, that in order to prepossess that nation in their favour, every thing would have been done, to have rendered the time which the Squadron of their good ally spent at Boston, as agreeable to the French as possible. This was done by the higher classes of people; but the reverse was the conduct of the lower orders. Being of a sour, morose, and sullen temper, they had conceived a dislike to the French, from the time when M. d'Estaing had left their army in the lurch at Rhode Island: and this revived all their former national prejudices, which a difference of religion, language, and manners, had for ages engendered. Violent affrays ensued, in which the French were roughly handled. The Governor and Magistrates did all that they could, to put a stop to these contentions; but although a large sum was offered by the state, for discovering the authors of such scandalous proceedings, they were never detected. To get rid of the business, M. d'Estaing was glad to accept of the endeavours of the Magistrates, as an apology and satisfaction for what had happened. But this was not the only vexation which he suffered, while at Boston. He was for some time in dread, that he should not be able to proceed to the West Indies, for want of a proper supply of provisions. The province of Massachusetts Bay does not produce wheat sufficient for the consumption of its inhabitants: and owing to the accidents, which had interrupted in their passage their supplies from the south, together with some local causes, provisions of all sorts were at that time so scarce and dear in Boston and its environs, as nearly to threaten a famine. Out of this disagreeable dilemma, M. d'Estaing was most unexpectedly extricated. The success of the New England privateers, in capturing a number of provision ships on their voyage from Europe to New York, happened at this period to be uncommonly great; and those vessels

were

were carried into Boston, where their cargoes not only abundantly supplied the wants of the French fleet, but furnished such an overplus, as was sufficient to reduce the rates of the markets to something near their usual standard. This supply was matter of great triumph to the rebels, especially to the Bostonians, who longed to be rid of their new allies and guests. Thus, by the success of a few privateers, was M. d'Estaing enabled to quit Boston, and to follow up his instructions in the West Indies, with his fleet thoroughly repaired, and his sailors in perfect health. Having published an address to the Canadians, inviting them to join the colonies who had shaken off their dependence on Great Britain, and assuring them of assistance; and being unwilling to encounter the squadron of Admiral Byron, which he had heard was at Newport, he accordingly sailed on the 4th of November, for the place of his destination. The same day Commodore Hotham, with a squadron of ships of war,* escorting a fleet of transports in which there were five thousand men, under the command of Major-General Grant, sailed from Staten Island for the Island of Barbadoes.†

On the 27th of November, a body of land forces,‡ under Colonel Archibald Campbell, escorted by some ships of war, commanded by Captain Hyde Parker, sailed from New York, against Savannah in Georgia. This last armament, after a series of bad weather, arrived off Tybee the 23d of December. A strong current having set the fleet to the southward, it was the 24th before the Commodore, with some part of the fleet, got into Savannah river; but it was the 27th, before the Vigilant and the remainder could reach it. Though this re-

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tarded

* Nonfuch and St. Albans, sixty-four; Preston, Isis, and Centurion, fifty; Venus, thirty-six; Diamond, thirty-two; and Carysfort, twenty-eight guns.

† The 4th, 5th, 15th, 27th, 28th, 35th, 40th, 46th, 49th, and 55th regiments, and two companies of artillery.

‡ 71st regiment of two battalions; two battalions of Hessians, viz. Wellworth and Wiffenbach; four battalions of Provincials, viz. 1st and 2d battalions of De Launcey's corps; New York volunteers, and the 4th battalion of Skinner's corps, with a detachment of the royal artillery.

tarded the operations of the army, an essential service was in the mean time performed. Neither the Commodore or Colonel Campbell having any certain intelligence, with respect to the military force of the rebels in Georgia, or the disposition made by them for its defence; Sir James Baird, with a company of light-infantry, in two flat-boats, and Lieutenant Clark of the *Phoenix*, were dispatched, on the night of the 25th, to seize any of the inhabitants they might find on the banks of Wilmington creek. They succeeded in taking two men, who gave such a satisfactory state of matters, that the Commanders determined to land the troops next morning, at the plantation of one Gerridoe, an important post, about twelve miles higher up the river than the light-house of Tybee, and, in a direct line, two miles short of the town of Savannah, although the distance was not less than three miles along the road. This spot was the nearest practicable landing place on the Savannah river, the whole country between it and Tybee being a continued tract of deep marsh, intersected by the creeks of St. Augustine and Tybee of considerable extent, and by other cuts of water, impassable for troops at any time of the tide. Colonel Campbell having made all the necessary arrangements, and formed, from the provincial battalions, two corps of light-infantry, the one to be attached to Sir James Baird's company of light-infantry of the 71st highlanders, and the other to Captain Cameron's company of the same regiment; the *Vigilant* man of war, with the *Comet* galley, the *Keppel* armed brig, and the *Greenwich* armed sloop, followed by the transports in three divisions, proceeded up the river with the tide, about noon on the 28th. About four in the evening, the *Vigilant* opened the reach of Gerridoe's plantation, and was cannonaded by two rebel galleys, which retired before she came so near as that any of their bullets could reach her. A single shot from the *Vigilant* quickened their retreat.

The tide being low, the evening too far spent, and many of the transports grounded, at the distance of five or six miles below Gerridoe's plantation, the rest came to an anchor: and

as there were reasons to believe, that the rebels were drawn up in force to oppose the landing of the troops, it was agreed to delay it, till the next morning at day-break. Captain Stanhope of the navy, who was charged with the direction of the flat-boats, displayed the greatest activity and zeal for promoting the public service. The first division of the troops, consisting of all the light-infantry, the New York volunteers, and the 1st battalion of the 71st regiment, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, were embarked in flat-boats, rendezvoused astern of the Vigilant, and landed at day-break on the 29th on the river dam, in front of the plantation. From this spot, a narrow causeway, six hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a rice swamp directly to Gerridoe's house, which stood upon a bluff thirty feet high, above the level of the swamps.

The light-infantry, under Captain Cameron, having first reached the shore, immediately formed, and were by him led on briskly to the bluff, where a body of fifty rebels were posted. From these, they received a smart fire of musquetry; but the Highlanders, rushing on with their usual impetuosity, gave them no time to repeat it. They drove them instantly from their post into the wood, and by this means secured an unopposed landing to the rest of the army. The fire of the rebels was unfortunately too well directed, for by it, the gallant Captain Cameron and two highlanders were killed, and five wounded.

Colonel Campbell, upon reconnoitring the environs of Gerridoe's plantation, discovered the rebel army, under Major-General Robert Howe, drawn up about half a mile to the east of the town of Savannah. Although the whole of his army was not yet landed, having secured the landing-place, and disregarding their superiority of numbers, he judged it expedient, rather to go in quest of the enemy, than to give them an opportunity of retiring unmolested. The light-infantry throw off their packs, that they might act with the greater freedom and alacrity: and the Colonel, having made a most excellent dis-

position of his troops, began his march towards the town of Savannah. Having reached the open ground about three in the afternoon, he ordered the troops to halt, in order to give him an opportunity of viewing the position of the rebel army, and of taking his measures accordingly. He found them drawn up across the road, about eight hundred yards distant from the gateway of Governor Wright's plantation; their left oblique to the great road leading to Savannah; their right to a wooded swamp, covered by the houses of Tatnal's plantation, in which they had placed some riflemen. The fort of Savannah bluff was behind their left wing: and the town of Savannah, round which there were some remains of an old line of intrenchment, covered their rear. One piece of cannon was planted on the right of their line, one on the left, and three in the centre. About a hundred paces in front of these last, at a critical spot between two swamps, a trench was cut across the road: and a hundred yards in front of this trench, a marshy rivulet, the bridge of which was burnt down to interrupt the passage and retard the march of the King's troops, ran almost parallel to the whole extent of their front. In this strong situation, the rebels thought themselves quite certain of victory. As they had secured both their flanks, and as their front was of so difficult approach, and so well protected by their cannon, they judged that their position could never be forced.

Colonel Campbell, from his observations on the movements of the enemy, judged that they wished and expected the attack to be made upon their left; and was desirous of cherishing that opinion. Having by mere accident fallen in with a negro, who informed him of a private path, through the wooded swamp upon the enemy's right, he ordered the first battalion of the 71st regiment to form on the right of the road, and to move up to the rear of the light-infantry, whilst he drew off that corps to the right, as if he meant to extend his front to that quarter. A happy fall of ground, favoured the concealment of this manœuvre, and increased the jealousy of the rebels with regard to their left. Sir James Baird had directions to lead the

the light-infantry along this hollow ground, quite to the rear; and to penetrate the wooded swamp upon the left of the British army, with a view to get round by the new barracks into the rear of the enemy's right flank. The New York volunteers, under Colonel Turnbull, were ordered to support him.

During the course of this movement, Colonel Campbell ordered his artillery to be formed in a field on the British left side of the road, concealed from the enemy by a swell of ground in front, to which he meant to run them up for action, when the signal to engage should be made. From this position, he could either bring them to bear advantageously upon the right of the rebel line, as it was formed; or he might cannonade any body of troops in flank, which they might detach into the wood, to retard the progress of the light-infantry.

The regiment of Wellworth was drawn up on the left of the artillery. The enemy kept up a smart fire from their cannon, which luckily did little or no mischief; and to which no return was made, until it was perceived, that Sir James Baird had fairly got round upon their rear. Colonel Campbell then ordered his line to move briskly forward, and the artillery to play upon the rebels. Such was the effect of their fire, and of the intrepid behaviour of the 71st regiment, and the Hessian battalion of Wellworth, that the enemy, unable to withstand the shock, were instantly routed.

A rebel corps, which had been posted at the new barracks with some pieces of cannon, to cover the road from Great Ogeeche, were at the same time routed, with the loss of their artillery, by the light-infantry under Sir James Baird. When the scattered remains of the army of the insurgents ran across the plain in his front, this officer, with his usual gallantry, dashed his corps on their flanks, and terminated the fate of the day with the most brilliant success.

Thirty-eight officers of different ranks, four hundred and fifteen non-commissioned officers and privates, one stand of colours, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, ninety-four barrels of gunpowder, the fort with all its stores;

in short, the capital of Georgia, the shipping in the harbour, and a large quantity of provisions, fell into the hands of the conquerors before it was dark. Their loss was only one officer and two privates killed; one serjeant and nine privates wounded. The loss of the enemy was more considerable. Eighty-three rebels were found killed on the field of battle, and eleven wounded: and by accounts received from the prisoners, thirty lost their lives in the swamp endeavouring to escape.

The rebel army fled through the town of Savannah, and were closely pursued by the King's troops: and although many of the inhabitants were in the streets, none of them suffered, but such as had arms in their hands, or were found in actual resistance. Colonel Campbell took proper measures, to prevent the enemy from executing a scheme which they once had in contemplation, of setting the town on fire. The rebels, however, removed most of their effects out of it: and except what their negroes might have pilfered during the course of the night, little or no depredation took place; perhaps less than ever happened to a town in similar circumstances.

Such was the activity and zeal of Colonel Campbell, aided by the indefatigable assiduity of Major Frazer, acting Deputy Quarter-Master-General, that on the 1st of January, he was enabled to continue his pursuit of the rebel army, and took post on Cherokee-hill. Next day he marched to Ebenezer, securing, as he went along, all the intermediate posts between it and Savannah. On his march he collected a number of horses and cattle: and on the 3d of January, the shattered remains of General Howe's army retreated across the river at the Two Sisters. The Colonel proceeded as high as Mount Pleasant, fifty miles from Savannah, without meeting any rebel force to oppose him. In all these operations, he was powerfully supported by the navy; the Commodore having detached Captain Stanhope and Lieutenant Clark, with a number of armed boats, the Comet galley, and the armed sloop Greenwich, up the river with boats laden with provisions and other articles for the army. In their way, they boarded and took an armed brig,

two sloops, and a schooner, which had interrupted the passage to Abercorn; and thus happily opened the navigation of the river to that post. On the approach of Captain Stanhope's force, the rebels retreated to Purisburg. In ten days time, the province of Georgia was cleared of the rebel army, except a small garrison which they had in the fort at Sunbury, which was soon after taken: and the Commodore and Colonel Campbell judged this a proper time for issuing to the people at large, a proclamation* and oath, founded on instructions received from his Majesty's Commissioners at New York. They did this from a persuasion, that immediately upon beating the united forces of Carolina and Georgia out of their country, it would have the most happy effects upon the inhabitants. The consequences were such, as served to confirm the justness of their opinion. During the time that Colonel Campbell was in pursuit of General Howe, he left Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Innes, Commandant of Savannah; and he, in conjunction with the Commodore, regulated, much to his satisfaction, all the steps necessary to be taken in the lower district of the province.

The perfect harmony which subsisted between the navy and army, could not fail to be extremely pleasing to the nation in general. It was indeed regarded, as contributing in no small degree to the masterly and successful manner, in which the Commodore and Colonel Campbell conducted their operations in Georgia.

Lieutenant-Colonel Innes was chosen, by Colonel Campbell, to be the bearer of his dispatches to the Minister: and the Commodore selected Captain Stanhope to carry his dispatches to the Admiralty. In his public letter to Mr. Stephens, he says, "I should do great injustice to Captain Stanhope, was I
" to close this letter without desiring you, Sir, to acquaint their
" Lordships, that Captain Stanhope, although his sloop was out
" of commission, made a voluntary offer of his services upon
" this expedition; and I with pleasure acknowledge, that my
" success in the naval department, has been greatly owing to
" his

* See Note 94.

“ his abilities and knowledge of the harbour and river : and it
“ is, Sir, with the greatest pleasure that I assure you, that a
“ a most perfect harmony has subsisted between the navy and
“ army, and that the officers and men have vied with each other
“ for the good of his Majesty’s service.” Both officers met with
a most gracious reception from the King ; and a present of five
hundred pounds was given to each of them, to buy a sword.
Captain Stanhope was, in a short time, made a Post-Captain :
and when the Commodore returned to England, his Majesty
was pleased to confer on him the honour of Knighthood.
Colonel Campbell had soon the honour of being appointed one
of his Majesty’s Aides-de-Camp.*

When the above expedition was first projected, Sir Henry
Clinton designed to draw together such a body of his Majesty’s
forces to act against Georgia, as, in his opinion, would ensure
success to the enterprise. It was with this view, that Major-
General Prevost was ordered to march from East Florida, with
as many troops as could be spared from the defence of that
province. The hardships of this small corps during its march
are, perhaps, as extraordinary as any that history records. Too
much praise could not be given to the troops, who, for several
days in succession, were in such extreme want of provisions, as
to be compelled to live only on oysters. Reduced to this
miserable and scanty subsistence, at a vast distance from aid,
and in a country of difficult access, they underwent, not only
without murmuring, but even with cheerfulness, the greatest
fatigues. A conviction that the General was exerting himself
to the utmost to afford them relief, and the conduct of their
officers, who readily shared in their toils, and partook of their
fare, tended not a little to prevent their spirits from drooping,
while they continued in this dreadful situation. The news of
the arrival of the troops under Colonel Campbell gave them in-
expressible pleasure. Soon after that, the artillery and ammu-
nition arrived by water, in open boats, which was the only
possible method in which it could be conveyed. As they had

no

* See Note 95.

no naval force of any kind to assist them, they were obliged to make a long circuit, to avoid the enemy's galleys; and this greatly retarded their march. By a forced march in the night, Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost got command at last of the town of Sunbury. To prevent the enemy from escaping, if it should be their design to abandon the fort, he immediately broke ground before it, and in a few days got a howitzer and some royals to play upon it. This soon induced the enemy to surrender at discretion. The prisoners, including officers, amounted to two hundred and twelve: and one Captain and two men were killed, and six men wounded. The loss sustained by his Majesty's troops amounted only to one private killed, and three wounded, although two rebel galleys and an armed vessel kept constantly firing at the trenches, which were also incessantly cannonaded by twenty-one guns mounted in Fort Morris.* As soon as General Prevost had settled all matters at Sunbury, and left a garrison in the fort, he proceeded to Savannah, and assumed the command of the King's forces in that district.

Vice-Admiral Byron having got his squadron ready for sea, and learning that M. d'Estaing had sailed from Boston for Martinico, proceeded from Rhode Island, on the 13th of December, for the West Indies, accompanied by Rear-Admiral Parker, with ten sail of the line, a frigate, and a sloop.† He left the command of the squadron in North America to Rear-Admiral Gambier.

When the very superior force with which his Majesty's fleet on this station had to contend, during a large proportion of the season which admits of action in this climate, is considered, the great success of the cruisers in taking the enemy's vessels is indeed a matter of surprise.

The Experiment and Unicorn, being on a cruise in Boston bay, gave chase to a large sail; which, after a running fight of an hour and a half, they drove aground on an island, where the

* See Note 96.

† Princess Royal, Royal Oak, Conqueror, Fame, Grafton, Cornwall, Sultan, Albion, Monmouth, and Trident; Diamond frigate, and Star sloop.

the greatest part of her crew got ashore. Sir James Wallace ordered the boats to board her, and endeavour to get her off, in which attempt they succeeded. She proved to be the Raleigh frigate, belonging to the Congress, mounting thirty-two guns, and having a crew of two hundred and fifty men. On examination, this prize was found so good a ship, that she was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name.

A large ship appearing off Sandy Hook, at day-break on the 25th of July, the Pearl of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain George Montagu, was ordered by signal to slip her cables, and go in pursuit of her; and by nine o'clock came up with the chace, and brought her to close action, which lasted an hour and a half, when the enemy surrendered. She proved to be the Industry, a rebel privateer of twenty-six guns; and had, in this action, several men killed, and a good many wounded. On board the Pearl three men were killed, and fourteen wounded.

Besides these captures, the Virginia of thirty guns was taken by the Emerald and some other ships in company, and was purchased into the service: the Comet of sixteen guns was taken by the Daphne; and the Angelica rebel privateer was taken, and after removing her crew, sunk by the Andromeda on her passage to England. The rebels attempted to send to sea the Columbus of sixteen guns; but, not chusing their time with judgment, she was intercepted by the Maidstone, driven ashore on Point Judith, and burnt by the boats of the squadron.

Sir George Collier, in the Rainbow, besides retaking some very valuable prizes from the rebels, took the Marquis de la Fayette, a large French ship laden with New England masts. She was cut out of Sheep's-cut harbour by the Rainbow's tenders.

NEWFOUNDLAND STATION.

VICE-ADMIRAL MONTAGU, who commanded his Majesty's ships on this station,* was unexpectedly reinforced by the arrival

* See Note 97.

rival of Commodore Evans in the *Invincible*, (one of Vice-Admiral Byron's squadron) in a very shattered state, accompanied by the *Guadaloupe* frigate, in almost as bad a condition. The Commodore had been nearly wrecked on the shoals of Nantucket, and was forced to bear away for St. John's in the island of Newfoundland.

As soon as Vice-Admiral Montagu received certain advice of M. d'Estaing having commenced hostilities in America, he dispatched Commodore Evans in the *Romney*, with the *Pallas*, *Surprise*, *Martin*, and *Bonavista* armed sloop; and a detachment of the royal artillery, with two field-pieces, and two hundred marines, commanded by Major Wemyss, to attack the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. The Commodore arrived off St. Pierre on the 14th of September; he immediately summoned the French Governor, the Baron de l'Esperance, to surrender the island and its dependencies to his Britannic Majesty, and demanded an answer in half an hour. The Baron, in his answer, said, that he had no advice of a declaration of war between the two nations from his Court; and that having no force capable of making resistance to the armament come against him, he would comply with the summons, on condition that he and his garrison should march out with all the honours of war. He demanded for the unfortunate inhabitants, as he called them—First, That all the attention in the power of the Commodore should be paid to them, and to the officers both civil and military.—2dly, That the inhabitants shall be allowed to take away their effects from their houses, and also their fish; and that they shall be sent to France in a sufficient number of vessels.—3dly, That the French shall enjoy their religion during the time of their remaining in the colony.—4thly, That the small number of vessels in the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon shall continue in possession of their respective proprietors.—And lastly, that care be taken to place proper guards, in order to prevent them from being insulted. To these demands the Commodore sent the Governor an answer early next morning; purporting, that agreeable to his request, the

the troops should be permitted to march out of the town with all the honours of war; that the officers, civil and military, and the other inhabitants of the town, should be allowed to remain in their respective houses, until the vessels were ready in which they were to embark for France; that they should meet with no interruption in the exercise of their religion; and that care should be taken that no insults should be offered to them. These terms, however, were granted, on the express condition that the Governor should, upon his honour, deliver a true and faithful account of the number of the inhabitants, distinguishing their sexes: and also, an account of all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and other warlike stores; together with the number of fishing vessels and fishing boats, and the quantities of fish, oil, and other merchandize, that were in the colony.* The number of fishing vessels were as follows: ten shallops with shifting decks; twenty-two with fixed decks; one hundred and sixty-five without decks; and eighty-two canoes. The quantity of fish taken, amounted to sixteen thousand two hundred and thirty-five quintals. There were likewise two hundred and one hogshheads of oil, and two hundred and twenty-four hogshheads of salt. The inhabitants, men, women, and children, amounting to nine hundred and thirty-two, were put on board transports and sent to France. When they embarked, the Commodore ordered all the houses, storehouses, and fish stages to be destroyed, and returned with his squadron to St. John's; soon after which he sailed for England.

WEST INDIES.—LEEWARD ISLAND STATION.

REAR-ADMIRAL BARRINGTON succeeded Vice-Admiral Young, in the command of his Majesty's ships on this station.†

The Lords of the Admiralty having learned, that some rebel privateers were stationed in such a manner, as to intercept the

* See Note 98.

† See Note 99.

the trading ships coming from England to Barbadoes and some of the other islands, dispatched his Majesty's ship Yarmouth, commanded by Captain Vincent, first to drive them off, and then to escort the homeward-bound trade to Britain. On the 7th of March, at five in the morning, about fifty leagues to the eastward of Barbadoes, the Captain got sight of six sail, to which he immediately gave chase. Two of them appeared to be ships, three of them brigs, and one a schooner. Having, about nine o'clock, got up with the largest and headmost, which he hailed and desired her to hoist her colours, when she immediately displayed the American flag, and fired a broadside at the Yarmouth. It was instantly returned; and after an engagement of about half an hour, the enemy's ship blew up. It was exceedingly fortunate, that the Yarmouth was to windward when this accident happened; for notwithstanding her favourable situation, she was in a manner covered with the fragments of the destroyed ship. A great piece of a top-timber, six feet long, fell on the poop; another large piece stuck in the fore-top-gallant sail, and afterwards fell on the cap; and an American ensign rolled up, was blown in upon the forecable, not so much as singed.

On the enemy's ship blowing up, her consorts immediately dispersed and stood different ways. Captain Vincent endeavoured to come up with several of them: but they all so out-failed the Yarmouth, whose sails were much torn in the engagement, that they were quickly out of sight. In the action, Captain Vincent had five men killed, and twelve wounded. On the 12th, as the Yarmouth was in chase of a ship, steering west, some of her crew discovered a piece of a wreck, with four men on it, waving and making signs to them; on which they hauled up to it, got out a boat, and brought them on board. They proved to be four men who had been in the ship which blew up, and who, from that time, had no means of subsistence but by sucking the rain water that fell on a piece of blanket, which they luckily had picked up. From them it was learned, that the vessel which blew up was the Randolph

dolph of thirty-six guns, and three hundred and five men, a Congress ship of war; and that the other ships were the General Moultrie of twenty guns, and three armed brigs, which had sailed from Charlestown, South Carolina, about a month before. Captain Vincent resumed the chase of the ship; but found that she had got too far ahead to admit of his coming up with her. Even the driving her from that station was a matter of the utmost consequence to the island of Barbadoes; and he therefore persevered in the pursuit till eleven o'clock at night, when he lost sight of her.

Vice-Admiral Young had sent the Ariadne and Ceres sloop on the same service in which the Yarmouth had been employed, and early in the morning of the 9th of March, they discovered two sail, to which they immediately gave chase. For some time the two stranger ships shewed a disposition to attack them; but were forced to relinquish that design in consequence of the King's ships having brought the sternmost to close action about noon, when the other made off. The vessel which engaged was soon compelled by the Ariadne and Ceres to strike; and proved to be a rebel ship of war called the Alfred, belonging to Congress. She mounted twenty guns, nine pounders, and had on board one hundred and eighty men. Her consort was the Raleigh of thirty-two guns. Captain Pringle used the utmost dispatch to come up with her, and chased her until ten o'clock the next day: but finding that he did not gain on her, and that she was throwing every thing overboard to lighten her, he desisted from the pursuit. These two rebel cruizers had come from Port l'Orient in France, where they had been fitted out, and had proceeded to this station to way-lay the British convoys; but fortunately had made no prizes.

The French, who had been only waiting a favourable opportunity of throwing off the mask, and joining the rebellious colonies against Great Britain, were well prepared for taking their part in the war, and sent early intelligence to their respective Governors in the West Indies, of hostilities having commenced between the two powers in Europe. At this time
the

the Marquis de Bouille, an active and enterprising officer, was Governor of Martinico. He was well informed of the actual state of the island of Dominica, and particularly of the weakness of its garrison, which was wholly incompetent to man the numerous works, which had been erected at a most enormous expence, for the defence of the place. Sensible of its great importance, he resolved to attack it, before any succours could be sent to it from Great Britain. He accordingly mustered a land force of upwards of two thousand men, composed of detachments drawn from the regiment of Viennois, in garrison at Martinico, the regiment of the colony, some hundreds of volunteers, and a number of sailors and mulattoes. With these he embarked on board of sloops and schooners, escorted by three frigates and some privateers, and immediately proceeded against that island, which, according to his expectations, he found in an unprepared state. On the 7th of September, he appeared before the island. At day-break the frigates commenced an attack on the different batteries, and M. de Bouille began to land his troops near to Roseau, the capital town. No sooner was the alarm given, than the feeble garrison and the militia repaired to their respective posts, and did all that lay in their power to defend themselves against so superior a force, and so unexpected an attack. About noon, several of the batteries had fallen into the enemy's hands, and M. de Bouille was drawing together his troops, in order to attack Roseau, the capital of the island. A deputation was then sent from the gentlemen who composed the Council of the island, and some of the principal merchants and inhabitants of the place, to wait upon General Stewart, who had exerted himself to the utmost in its defence, and was, at that time, reconnoitring the enemy's disposition, from the point of Jolly's-hill above the town. The object of this deputation was, to request him to call a Council of War to consider the state of the island. The Council, when called, seeing that all the defence they could make would be of no avail, and sensible that farther resistance could serve only to expose them to inevitable ruin;

soon came to an unanimous resolution, of sending a flag of truce to the French General, to request a cessation of arms, that they might have time to propose terms of capitulation.

The Marquis de Bouille consented to a parley for one hour, during which a capitulation was drawn up and agreed to : and the terms granted, were much better than could have been expected,* considering the defenceless state of the inhabitants. During the time of the parley, one of the French frigates called the *Tourterell*, fired two broadsides upon Young's battery and the town. This had very nearly broken it off ; but the mistake was soon rectified, and a proper apology made by the Captain of the frigate. The loss of the enemy in their several attacks was very considerable. Their troops were commanded by the Marquis de Bouille, Governor-General of Martinico ; the Marquis de Chilleau, Comte de Tilly, and Viscount de Damas ; and the Chevalier Jeffry was chief engineer. The garrison had but two men killed in the attack. The enemy found one hundred and sixty-four pieces of cannon, and twenty-four brass mortars in the works, besides a very considerable quantity of military stores and public effects. What British vessels were in the harbours became prizes to the conquerors. The garrison, consisting of two incomplete companies of the forty-eight regiment, and a detachment of the royal artillery, were sent to the Grenades. M. de Bouille made but a short stay at Dominica, fearing that his retreat to Martinico might be cut off by the British fleet. After leaving for the protection of the place fifteen hundred men, under the command of the Marquis de Chilleau, he returned with the rest of his forces to that island.

The French had taken the advantage of a favourable time, for making their attack on the island of Dominica ; for Vice-Admiral Young had then left Antigua and sailed for England, and Rear-Admiral Barrington was but newly arrived at Barbadoes, to take upon him the command of the little squadron on that station.

From

* See Note 100.

From various considerations, the capture of the island of Dominica by the French, might justly be regarded as a national loss: and the public had great reason to be dissatisfied, that a place of its importance should have been left in a great measure unprotected. Large sums had been expended on its fortifications. These were well supplied with excellent artillery of every sort; and its magazines with military stores. If these circumstances alone had not been sufficient to induce the enemy to undertake this enterprise, there were not wanting still more important motives, to urge them to make the attempt. The seizure of an island, which, by possessing the free port of Prince Rupert's Bay, had acquired a very great resort of shipping; and in which, much encouragement had been given to the new settlers, must, at the beginning of a war, be a severe blow to the British trade. If information of the commencement of hostilities between the two crowns, had been conveyed in due time to Rear-Admiral Barrington, he could have repaired off Martinico with his squadron; and small as his force was, as the French had not, at that time, one ship of the line in that part of the West Indies, it would have been sufficient to have deterred M. de Bouille from undertaking such an expedition. Instead of communicating to him so important intelligence, he was ordered to wait at Barbadoes for instructions; and the first accounts of a rupture between the two countries which reached him, or any of the islands adjacent to his station, was the promulgation at Martinico, (about the middle of August) of a French document executed at Paris on the 28th of June, amounting in effect to a declaration of war.

As soon as he was informed, that the island of Dominica was invaded by the French, though his instructions were not yet arrived, he proceeded with the utmost expedition to its relief; but the conquest of it was too rapid, to afford him an opportunity of giving it the assistance which he so ardently wished to have done. The zeal and activity which he had shewn, and the presence of his squadron, had, however, a happy effect in removing the panic which the boastings of the enemy,

enemy, after the conquest of Dominica, had spread through the neighbouring islands. It even prevented them for a while from attempting other enterprises. Agreeably to his orders, he returned to Barbadoes, with his squadron, to wait for his instructions.

We have already mentioned the sailing of a conjunct expedition from New York, under the command of Commodore Hotham and Major-General Grant. The land forces employed in that service might amount to about five thousand men. Sir Henry Clinton was sensible, that, with the great military force which he had, nothing was to be apprehended from any designs that the rebels might form against New York during the winter; but he well knew, that in the West India islands much was to be feared from the French. He therefore resolved to send to that quarter, the above-mentioned armament, which he hoped was sufficiently strong, not only to defend the British possessions there from any danger with which they were threatened, but even to annoy the enemy.

Notice had been sent to Rear-Admiral Barrington, that the rendezvous of the fleet under Commodore Hotham was to be at Carlisle Bay, in the island of Barbadoes. He accordingly repaired with his little squadron to that place, in order to form a junction with the Commodore. This officer sailed from Sandy Hook, on the very day on which M. d'Estaing departed from Boston; and as both were bound for the West Indies, their courses were nearly the same. During a great part of the voyage, the two fleets had steered in lines parallel to each other, without having any knowledge of each others relative situation. In the latitude of the Bermudas, both encountered a violent gale of wind, in which the French fleet were greatly dispersed: and this probably proved the means of preventing the British squadron from being compelled to encounter a very superior force. Commodore Hotham, by his masterly skill and management, was so fortunate as to keep his ships together during the storm. He accordingly got the start of M. d'Estaing: and on the 10th of December, arrived safe with his fleet

fleet at Barbadoes, where he joined Rear-Admiral Barrington.* In this dangerous voyage he lost only one small vessel, which was taken by the French Squadron.

A resolution was immediately formed to attack the island of St. Lucia : and, that no time might be lost in making new signals, Admiral Barrington adopted those given out by Commodore Hotham. The Admiral sent ahead the *Ariadne*, *Ceres*, *Snake*, *Pelican*, and *Barbadoes*; and ordered them to be stationed so as to intercept any vessels that might attempt to escape from St. Lucia, or which, by going there, might give the enemy notice of the intended attack. With the rest of the fleet and troops, he sailed from Carlisle Bay on the 12th of December : and in the afternoon of next day, the whole anchored in the Grand Cul de Sac of the island of St. Lucia. The troops were ordered immediately to prepare for landing, and soon after to get into the flat-boats, and assemble astern of the *Preston*. Commodore Hotham, assisted by Captains Griffiths, Braithwaite, and Onslow, superintended the debarkation. The *Venus* was ordered to silence a battery of four twelve pounders, that fired on the ships ; and this was accomplished in half an hour by Captain Ferguson. The first division of the army, under the command of Brigadier-General Medows, then made good their landing ; and were immediately supported by the first brigade, under Brigadier-General Prescott. The remainder of the troops, under the command of Brigadier-General Sir Henry Calder, were landed early next morning.

Brigadier-General Medows, as soon as he had landed and formed the troops on the beach, pushed forward with his division, and forced the Chevalier de Micoud, with a corps of regular troops and a great body of militia, to abandon the heights on the north side of the bay. On these heights he took post, and sent out detachments who seized a field-piece, which had fired upon the boats while debarking the troops, and a battery of four twelve pounders, which annoyed the shipping at the entrance of the harbour.

E B 3

Brigadier

* See Note 101.

Brigadier Prescott, with the first brigade, guarded the environs of the bay : and his advanced posts kept up the communication with Brigadier Medows. At day-break on the 14th, the latter, in consequence of orders which he had received, advanced with the reserve ; and supported by the former, and the troops under his command, took possession of Morne Fortuné, the Governor's house, the hospital, the barracks, and all the stores and magazines belonging to the island. Although all the passes are remarkably strong and difficult of access, yet with such impetuosity did the British troops advance, that the French Governor was obliged to retire from post to post, after doing all in his power to defend them. As the reserve advanced, Brigadier Prescott took possession of the batteries and posts in their rear : and as the guns were not spiked or destroyed, and plenty of all sorts of ammunition was left, he stationed artillery officers and men at each ; a precaution which afterwards proved of the greatest utility. He also established posts of communication for their support. General Medows, after a short halt, was ordered to take possession of the peninsula called the Vigie, which entirely commands the north side of the Carenage harbour.

Brigadier Sir Henry Calder, with the second brigade, guarded the landing place, kept open the communication with the fleet, and occupied several strong posts on the mountains, which command the south side of the Grand Cul de Sac. It afterwards appeared, that the French intended to bombard the squadron and transports from these posts, if they had not been prevented by the British troops being in possession of them, and by their inability to drive them from the ground. Just as all these important stations had been properly secured, the French colours at them struck, and General Grant's head-quarters established at the Governor's house, the *Ariadne* frigate came in sight, with the signal abroad for the approach of an enemy. As soon as she arrived, Captain Pringle immediately repaired on board the Admiral's ship, and reported, that he had been chased by the French squadron, consisting of twelve sail of the
line

line and a number of frigates: and before the ship could be brought to an anchor, they were seen from the heights overlooking the Cul de Sac. The rapidity with which the troops had carried the different posts, and the excellent arrangements made by the Admiral and General Officers, in securing every advantage they had gained over the enemy, proved the fortunate means of not only repulsing the formidable armament brought against them, but of saving his Majesty's fleet and army under their command from destruction.

The night of the 14th afforded no repose, either to the army or the fleet, after the great fatigues which both had undergone through the day. The arrival of M. d'Estaing, with such a superior force, imperiously demanded their utmost vigilance and exertion. The military were busy in strengthening all the posts they had gained: and while the army was thus employed, the naval department, during the night, worked incessantly in warping the storeships and transports in, and arranging them within the ships of war; and also in placing the line of battle ships across the entrance of the Cul de Sac, in such a manner as they could bring their broadsides to bear with the greatest effect, if the enemy came to attack them.

The *Isis** was stationed to the windward, inclining rather into the bay; and as the *Prince of Wales* was the most powerful ship, she was placed outermost and to leeward. The *Venus*, *Aurora*, and *Ariadne* frigates, were moored so as to flank the space between the *Isis* and the shore, to prevent the enemy from forcing an entrance by that passage. This fatiguing operation was accomplished by eleven o'clock of the forenoon of the 15th.

It was Admiral Barrington's intention to have removed the transports to the Carenage harbour, as soon as he possibly could; but he was prevented from executing this measure, by the sudden arrival of M. d'Estaing. M. de Bouille, the Governor of Martinico, being in daily expectation of M. d'Estaing's

B B 4

arrival

* The British ships were placed in the line as follows: *Isis*, *St. Albans*, *Boyne*, *Nonfuch*, *Centurion*, *Preston*, and *Prince of Wales*.

arrival with his squadron from North America, had prepared a very considerable military force to act in conjunction with the fleet. The damages sustained by the French squadron, on their voyage from Boston, were soon repaired; and M. d'Estaing accordingly put to sea, with twelve sail of the line, accompanied by a number of frigates and privateers, besides transports having on board nine thousand men, a considerable number of these he had brought in his fleet from North America. The rest, composed of regulars and volunteers from the different French islands, had been assembled by M. de Bouille, and were in readiness for any enterprise, as soon as M. d'Estaing should arrive at Martinico.

When this grand armament put to sea, according to the plan of operations concerted, the first place designed to be attacked was the island of Barbadoes; the French Commanders having received intelligence, that Rear-Admiral Barrington was at that place, with only two ships of the line and a few frigates. The French made sure of taking or destroying the war ships; and had no doubt, when that was accomplished, but the island would immediately surrender. This blow the enemy designed to have followed up by the reduction of the Grenades, and the island of St. Vincent; and if no interruption should be given to their operations, they entertained hopes of being able to subdue all the other possessions which Britain had in this part of the West Indies. But while M. d'Estaing and M. de Bouille were on their voyage to attack the island of Barbadoes, intelligence was brought to them, that the island of St. Lucia was attacked. This the enemy regarded as a most fortunate circumstance, regarding it as the sure means of crushing at one blow, the whole of the British force by sea and land in this part of the world. Considering the evident superiority of their squadron, as well as the number of their troops, much danger was to be apprehended; and if the French had arrived twenty-four hours sooner, the destruction of both ships and troops would, in all human probability, have been inevitable.

That the grand scenes which we are about to describe may

be the more distinctly apprehended, it may be proper to view the position both of the British naval and land forces; when it will be seen, that by the unremitting labour and industry of one night, they were, by the skill of their Commanders, placed in such admirable order, as enabled them to withstand the repeated attacks of so superior a force. The British squadron occupied the most southern inlet, called by the French the Grand Cul de Sac; at the upper end of which and close to the shore, the transport vessels and storeships had been anchored in the night previous to the enemy's assault. To protect these, the ships of war were moored across the entrance of this bay, in such a manner, as to present their broadsides against any naval force the enemy might bring against them; and as a farther security, a battery of heavy cannon was erected on the southern, and another on the northern points of land, at the entrance of the Cul de Sac, which proved of great utility.

The Carenage bay, or harbour, leads up towards Morne Fortuné, and distant from the Grand Cul de Sac between two and three miles to the northward; and the peninsula of the Vigie, occupied by General Medows, forms the northern boundary of the Carenage, and covered its entrance on that side: Choc bay and Gros Islet bay are still farther to the northward. It is by no means easy to describe a country so singular in respect of surface as the island of St. Lucia; and still more difficult, to render intelligible the complicated situation of the British posts. The island presents no regular face, but a succession of confused steep and abrupt hills, scattered among greater mountains, every where intersected by narrow winding vallies, long defiles, and deep ravines or gullies, having torrents of water at the bottom; and where fordable, the passage of these is rendered difficult by the quantity of huge stones which the heavy rains, in the hurricane season, have washed from the precipitous sides of the adjoining mountains.

General Grant, with the brigades under the command of Brigadier-Generals Prescott and Calder, (which composed fully two-thirds of the army) occupied all the strong posts among the hills,

hills, on either side of the Grand Cul de Sac ; and commanded by detached posts, the ground that extended from thence to the Carenage, which was distant about two miles. A battery on the south point on their side of the Carenage, and another on the opposite point of the Vigie, defended the entrance of that bay. The brigades were also possessed of two other batteries, which commanded in a considerable degree the approaches by land to the Vigie. They were situated near the bottom of the bay where it narrows, or rather where it is joined by a small river or stream, which divides the country for a considerable way up, and passing close to Morne Fortuné, falls into the bay, where it forms a creek which covered these batteries. Both the batteries at the bottom of the bay, and those at the entrance of the Carenage, proved of excellent service when the French attacked General Medow's post.

The situation of that officer was peculiarly hazardous. Stationed with the reserve of the army on the mountainous peninsula called the Vigie, he was almost shut up from the rest of the army, both by distance and situation. From the great superiority of the enemy, he was obliged to act entirely on the defensive ; and the distance he was at from the army, as well as from the nature of the ground, he could derive no support from the main body, except what he could derive from the batteries already mentioned : the plan of his operations was extremely circumscribed. He was indeed in possession of very strong ground ; but there were some circumstances that might have operated greatly to his disadvantage, if the enemy had allowed a little time for the troops under General Medows, to reflect on the desperate situation they were placed in : from the great force with which they were assailed, they might be overpowered ; in this case, a retreat was impracticable, and in such an event, to become prisoners of war, or to be cut to pieces, were their only alternatives. The hope of assistance from the rest of the army could not be expected, from the great superiority of the French in point of numbers ; and the danger to which they were exposed, if the enemy chose to hazard the
landing

landing of a body of troops on the north side of the peninsula, under cover of their frigates. It is true, that the ground there is high and rocky, and very unfavourable for such an operation; and in addition to its natural strength, the sea generally beats with such violence on the shore, that it is seldom that boats can effect a landing, without the greatest danger of being dashed to pieces: but even a feint of landing troops at this place, would have been extremely distressing to General Meadows, as it must necessarily have obliged him to have sent a detachment from his army to observe their motions, which would consequently have weakened his front when assaulted by the whole of the French army. The impetuosity of the enemy's troops soon freed General Meadows from all these impending dangers.

Nothing could exceed the chagrin and disappointment of the French Commanders, upon the failure of their attempt to force the harbour of Carenage; and finding that the British General was in possession of all the strong ground in the environs of the Grand Cul de Sac, as one of their plans of attack was to have landed their troops near this, secured the commanding heights, and from them have bombarded the British squadron and transports: but the General being before hand with them, they were necessitated to form a new plan of operations. These were to endeavour to overpower the British squadron, moored across the entrance of the Grand Cul de Sac, and to land their army at the Bay de Choc, and endeavour to carry the Vigie by assault; if either of these schemes succeeded, they regarded their success as certain.

As it was late on the 14th of December, before the French fleet got close to the island of St. Lucia, M. d'Estaing delayed the commencement of his operations until the next day. Accordingly, early on the morning of the 15th, the enemy's squadron, led by M. d'Estaing in the Languedoc, stood towards the harbour of the Carenage, supposing that the British troops were not in possession of the posts at its entrance; but on his nearer approach, his ship was fired upon and struck by
one

one of the batteries. He immediately returned an indignant broadside, which did no manner of hurt, and then bore away with his whole fleet. For some time the enemy appeared in great disorder, and seemed at a loss how to act; but at last, after much hesitation, they resolved to attack the fleet anchored at the entrance of the Grand Cul de Sac. Accordingly, about half an hour after eleven o'clock, the French Admiral, with ten sail of the line, bore down to attack Admiral Barrington's little squadron; but the reception which he met with soon convinced him, that the destruction of a British fleet, commanded by a gallant and experienced officer, would not be such an easy achievement as from his vain boasting he thought he could accomplish.

After a short cannonading M. d'Estaing drew off with his fleet, without having done the British squadron any material injury. The French Admiral having had time to digest his plan, and make the necessary arrangements for putting it in practice, renewed his attack on the squadron, at four o'clock in the afternoon, with twelve sail of the line. He now endeavoured to make an impression more to the right, from the leeward point of the British line to its centre; and by this means, the Prince of Wales, (which was the flag-ship) had to sustain more than her due proportion of the action. The French kept up a very heavy fire, supported this attack better, and persevered in it longer than in the former: and although they now directed the whole of their assault to a narrower object, yet neither that nor their change of position, nor the additional force which they had now brought into action, were capable of rendering their efforts in this attempt more successful than they were in the last. Never did ships keep up a brisker cannonade than the British did on this occasion, or take better aim; and they were well seconded by the land batteries. After a long and warm action, the French fleet fell into evident confusion, and retired without having been able to make any impression on the British line: the only loss which it sustained in this conflict,

conflict, was two men killed on board the Prince of Wales, and one mortally wounded in the Ariadne.

In this attack, the enemy were supposed to have lost many men, and their ships to have sustained considerable damage, as their manœuvres indicated great confusion, and one of their vessels fell to leeward, and seemed unable to carry the necessary sail for getting again to windward.

While the naval annals of Britain continue to be read, these two battles will forever be regarded as among the most brilliant actions on record. There may have been engagements greater in extent, or more decisive in their consequences; but every circumstance dispassionately weighed, none can possibly afford more glory and honour, than fell to the share of Admiral Barrington and his brave associates.

On the 16th, M. d'Estaing shewed a disposition to make a third attack on the British squadron; but on the appearance of a frigate standing for his fleet, with several signals flying, he plied to windward, and in the evening the enemy's fleet anchored off Gros Îlet bay, about two leagues to the northward of the British squadron. In the course of the night, the French disembarked a large body of troops, supposed to amount to nine thousand men, in Choc bay. In the morning of the 17th, General Grant withdrew two advanced piquets from posts which he never intended to defend, and from which not a shot had been fired.

The repulses which the French fleet had sustained, compelled the enemy to alter their plan of operations; and as General Grant had posted troops on the high grounds round the Grand Cul de Sac, from which he could not be forced without great loss, M. d'Estaing and M. de Bouille resolved to attack the British post of the Vigie, where General Medows commanded: and if this should induce General Grant to move in support of General Medows, the enemy's Generals had hopes this might bring on a general engagement, on more favourable terms than by directly attacking him in posts almost inaccessible; and from their superiority of numbers, they hoped

hoped to prove victorious. The enemy accordingly formed about five thousand of their best troops into three columns. The column on the right was led by the Compte d'Estaing; the centre one by M. de Lowendahl; and that on the left by the Marquis de Bouille, Governor of Martinico. The remainder of the French troops were kept disengaged, to watch the British forces to the southward of the Carenage bay, and to check any attempt they might make to succour General Medows. The neck of land, which joined the peninsula of the Vigie to the island, was very flat for a considerable way: and this was the only road by which the French troops could approach to the heights occupied by the British. The enemy rushed on to the attack with their characteristic impetuosity: but it is impossible to describe the coolness, intrepidity, and firmness, with which they were received. In the various attacks, made by the troops under General Medows, in gaining possession of the Vigie, much of their ammunition had been expended: and as their detached situation had prevented a supply from being sent to them since that time, it was far from being complete, when the French made their assault on that post. He was therefore under a necessity of ordering his men to be cautious not to throw away a shot, nor to fire, until they were sure that every ball would take effect. They accordingly allowed the enemy to come so very close, before they gave their fire, that the slaughter was dreadful; and they had scarcely time to load their muskets again, when they were obliged to have recourse to the bayonet. The French, for some time, withstood this charge with spirit; but they sustained so severe a loss, without having made the smallest impression on their opponents, that they were forced to retire. It is said, that no fewer than seventy of the enemy were killed within the intrenchments, on their first onset.

The French officers exerted themselves greatly, rallied their men when repulsed, and, as soon as they had recovered their breath, once more led them on to the assault. The check, which the British troops had given to the enemy, seemingly increased

increased the spirits of the men; for they encountered them, if possible, with greater keenness than before, defended their posts with unparalleled obstinacy and resolution, and again drove them down the hill with heavy loss. The French Generals, notwithstanding these repulses, resolved to make another effort to carry the heights: and having restored order to their troops, again led their columns up to the attack. But this third essay neither continued long, nor was so violent as the former two had been. The spirit of French courage was evaporated; and they were easily dispersed and broken by the British troops, whose ardour had increased every minute, since the first assault began. The enemy now fled in the greatest disorder: and as the different batteries on the south side of the Carenage harbour, all of which were remarkably well served, and to the fire of which they were exposed for a considerable part of the way, enfiladed their columns both in advancing and retreating, the havoc among them was dreadful. Nor was this the only service which the batteries performed. M. d'Estaing having sent a ship of the line to the entrance of the Carenage harbour, to assist the French troops in their operations by her fire, the men posted in the batteries pointed their guns so well, that they soon obliged her to slip her cable and rejoin her squadron.

The enemy left four hundred men killed on the spot, five hundred dangerously wounded, and six hundred slightly wounded. They obtained leave to bury their dead, and to carry off their wounded men: and M. d'Estaing, by agreement, was to account for the wounded as prisoners of war. The loss which the British sustained was only ten men killed, and one hundred and thirty wounded; many of them so slightly, that, in a few days, they returned from the hospital to their duty in camp.

Too much praise could not be bestowed on Brigadier-General Medows, and the troops under his command. The disposition which he made, for the defence of his post, was masterly. He was wounded in the arm early in the day, but remained in the field, rode about, and gave his orders every where, until the

the enemy were forced to retire. Nor did he at all quit his post during the enemy's continuance on the island. Major Harris, who commanded the grenadiers, and Major Sir James Murray, who commanded the light-infantry, greatly distinguished themselves: and General Grant was highly pleased with all the officers and men, whose cool and determined conduct upon this occasion even surpassed, if possible, their usual spirit and bravery, and justly gained them immortal honour.

Such was the harmony that prevailed between the navy and army, that it would be in some measure injurious to both to consider them as distinct corps. The close connection, the equal participation of danger and service, and the mutual dependence that subsisted between the two departments, had so firmly united them, that they appeared to form but one solid and compact body: and this glorious unanimity was rivetted and confirmed by the example of their Commanders and officers, laudably displayed in the friendship and respect which they evidently entertained for one another. It served to diffuse so high a degree of confidence, hope, and spirit, through the fleet and army, as made them totally forget the vast superiority of the enemy, the dangers attending their own critical situation, and the difficulties which they hourly encountered. It even made them seem to disregard such unremitting duty, hardship, and fatigue, as would otherwise have appeared altogether insupportable.

While the enemy were landing their troops on the night of the 16th, Rear-Admiral Barrington, expecting to be attacked next day, employed the intervening time in strengthening his line, by making it more compact, and by warping the war ships farther into the bay. He also removed the *Venus* astern of the *Prince of Wales*, to flank the passage into the harbour, and erected batteries at each point of the bay: the one to the northward, under the direction of Captains Cumming and Robinson; and the other to the southward, under Captain Ferguson. These batteries were mounted with as many thirty-two pounders as could be spared from the *Boyne*, and dragged

dragged up from the beach by the sailors of his Majesty's ships. Sensible that the military underwent additional fatigue, and were exposed to greater dangers, by occupying more extensive posts for the security of the squadron, than they would otherwise have had occasion to do, the seamen laboured with the utmost cheerfulness in conveying to them provisions and necessaries of every kind, in spite of the violent heat of a vertical sun, and through roads that were almost impassable.

The check which the French army received on the 17th, deterred them from taking any farther steps to prevent the island of St. Lucia from falling into the hands of the British: and the measures pursued by Admiral Barrington for giving their fleet a proper reception, in the event of their making a third attack, had such an effect, that M. d'Estaing desisted from renewing his assaults on the squadron; and after remaining inactive for a while, on the 28th re-embarked his troops, and on the 29th weighed anchor and returned to Martinico.

The following little affair could not fail to be extremely galling to M. d'Estaing, who was then at anchor with his squadron in Gros Islet bay. At day-break, on the 23d of December, a rebel privateer was discovered becalmed, close to the Grand Cul de Sac. A few guns from the nearest ships obliged her to strike: and the boats of the fleet pushed out, boarded, and towed her within the British line, before any of the French squadron could get to her assistance. She proved to be the Bunker's-Hill, of eighteen guns and eight swivels; had sailed on the 2d of December from Salem, and was intended to cruise fifteen leagues to the windward of Barbadoes, but had missed that island, and fallen to leeward. She was purchased into the service, converted into a sloop of war, and called the *Surprise*: a name expressive of the manner in which she fell into the hands of the British. Admiral Barrington conferred the command of her upon Lieutenant James Brine, the First Lieutenant of the *Prince of Wales*.

M. d'Estaing's squadron was not out of sight of the island on the 29th, when M. de Micoud, the Governor, sent a flag to

General Grant requesting a capitulation, the terms of which were next day adjusted and signed.* Both the officers and men, in each department, afforded their Commanders the greatest satisfaction, by their behaviour in every respect. The Rear-Admiral in his public letter acknowledges, in a handsome manner, the great assistance which he received from Captain Barker, agent of transports; and the services of Lieutenant Governor Stuart of the island of Dominica, who officiated as an honorary Aid-de-Camp between the Rear-Admiral and the General. He had accompanied the Rear-Admiral upon this expedition, and offered himself as a volunteer, in hopes that his Majesty's arms might be afterwards employed in recovering that island: and his perfect knowledge of it would, in such an attempt, have rendered his services peculiarly useful.

Captain Allan Gardner, of his Majesty's ship *Maidstone* of twenty-eight guns, (nine pounders) and two hundred men, performed a very gallant action. On the 3d of November, about one in the morning, being in lat. $35^{\circ} 40'$ N. long. $71^{\circ} 50'$ W. sixty-four leagues E. S. E. from Cape Henry, on discovering a ship in the N. E. quarter, standing to the eastward, with the wind at west, he gave chase and prepared for action. At half past three he got alongside of the chase; and as she hoisted French colours, began immediately to engage. After an hour's action, the *Maidstone* had sustained so much damage in her sails and rigging, that it was judged necessary to bring to, to repair the latter and to furl the main-sail, which was cut to pieces by the langredge shot of the enemy. At day-break, another ship to windward was bearing down upon the *Maidstone*: and Captain Gardner supposed her to be a consort of the ship with which he had been engaged, and which was at that time about two miles to leeward, under her top-sails. At nine the ship to windward brought to, and made a private signal; but as it was not answered, she made sail at ten, and stood by the wind to the southward. Captain Gardner then wore, and pursued the ship which had fought him. Although she

* See Note 102.

she had put before the wind, under top-sails and fore-sail, he got alongside of her by noon, and renewed the action. It continued till near one o'clock, when she struck : and proved to be the *Lion*, a French ship of forty guns, viz. twenty-eight twelve pounders on her main-deck, six six pounders on her quarter-deck, and six four pounders on her fore-castle, with two hundred and sixteen men. She was commanded by Captain Jean Mitchell, bound to Port l'Orient from Virginia ; and having on board upwards of thirteen hundred hogheads of tobacco, was a very valuable prize. On board the *Lion*, eight men were killed and eighteen wounded. In the *Maidstone*, four men were killed and nine wounded : among the latter was Captain Gardner, who received a severe wound in one of his hands. His ship was greatly damaged in her masts, yards, sails, and rigging ; and when the enemy struck, had four feet water in the hold. Not being able to regain New York at that season of the year, Captain Gardner carried his prize to English harbour in the island of Antigua.

The *Boreas*, in returning from Bequia, on the 3d of December, took a French snow called *Le Mémé*, of three hundred and fifty tons, and twelve guns, bound from Rochfort to Martinico, with two hundred and eighty soldiers on board, and a cargo of dry goods and provisions.

Rear-Admiral Barrington, as soon as he was certainly informed, that the French squadron was moored in Port Royal bay in the island of Martinico, removed the whole of his fleet from the Grand Cul de Sac to the Carenage harbour ; where he was joined, in the beginning of the ensuing January, by Vice-Admiral Byron with the squadron under his command from North America.*

The *St. Peter*, a rebel privateer of eighteen six pounders, and one hundred and thirty men, was taken by the *Aurora*, Captain Cumming. The *General Washington* brig, of eighteen guns and one hundred and thirty men, fitted out by the rebel Congress, was taken by the *Seaford*, Captain Colpoys : who

also took the Hampden rebel privateer, of twelve guns and sixty-four men. The Ariadne, Captain Pringle, took a schooner rebel privateer of eight guns and thirty men; and run on shore and destroyed two others. The Antigua armed vessel took, after a smart action, the Nancy, a rebel privateer of twelve guns and forty men; in which the enemy had four men killed and five wounded.

WEST INDIES.—JAMAICA STATION.

His Majesty's ships on this station, commanded by Rear-Admiral Sir Peter Parker,* made a great number of prizes from the rebels. A very gallant action was performed by Captain Peter Rainier, of his Majesty's sloop the Ostrich.† Being on a cruize, in company with the Lowestoffe's prize, an armed brig of ten guns, he got sight of a large brig off Savannah Point on the 8th of July; and after a long pursuit the Ostrich came up with her: she proved to be a rebel privateer much superior in point of force. Notwithstanding which, Captain Rainier immediately attacked her; and after a warm action of three hours, she struck the rebel flag. This event was greatly accelerated by the Lowestoffe's prize coming up to the assistance of the Ostrich, and bravely engaging the enemy for half an hour before they surrendered. The prize-vessel proved to be the Polly of sixteen guns, six and nine pounders, twenty-three swivels, and eight cohorns in the tops, with a crew of one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy men. The enemy suffered severely; for the midshipman who took possession of the prize counted twenty-three men killed, and they had been observed, during the action, to throw several of their dead overboard. Her Captain was killed: and he was supposed to have a French commission as well as an American one. She was bound from Port au Prince for Boston,

and

* See Note 104.

† The Ostrich had only fourteen four pounders, and her complement was one hundred and ten men.

and had on board a quantity of mblaffes. In this action, which did Captain Rainier, his officers and crew, the highest honour, he was wounded by a musquet-ball completely through the left breast: yet dangerous and painful as this wound was, he would not allow himself to be carried lower than the cabin, and from that issued his orders, during the remainder of the action. Mr. O'Brien, the Lieutenant of the Ostrich, was badly wounded. The Master and four men were killed, and twenty-eight men wounded, two of them mortally: and the masts and yards of the Ostrich were much damaged. It is with pleasure we mention, that Captain Rainier was soon after made a Post-Captain,* and got the command of the Burford of sixty-four guns.

His Majesty's ships Minerva and Active, being on separate cruizes, and not having any information of the French war, were unfortunately taken by surprise, by frigates of that nation, and carried into Cape François. This misfortune had such an effect on the Captains of both these ships, that they died soon after. The captures of the Minerva and Active were the first occurrences, that assured Sir Peter Parker of hostilities having taken place between the two nations.

EAST INDIES.

THE Directors of the East India Company did not let the preparations for war, which were going on at all the principal seaports of France, escape their notice. These, together with the favour shewn to the rebellious American colonies by that nation, gave them alarm: and foreseeing that a rupture between the two crowns was almost unavoidable, they put their servants in India on their guard, and prepared them for the worst. It could not escape their memories, that their settlements, and indeed their existence in India, had only a few years ago been exposed to imminent danger, when in a season of profound peace, France had clandestinely conveyed so great

* He is now Vice-Admiral of the Red.

a military force to the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, that they owed their deliverance to fortune or chance, more than to any timely knowledge of the design of that perfidious power, or to measures adopted to avert the gathering storm. No sooner did the French Minister deliver the rescript to Lord Viscount Weymouth, than the Directors of the East India Company sent orders to their servants in India, immediately to commence hostilities against the French. Wisely foreseeing, that it would be impossible for the Company to remain neuter, they got these orders conveyed with the greatest expedition.

The settlements which the French had at Chandernagore, and other places in Bengal, not being fortified, or capable of making any resistance, were immediately seized by detachments of troops sent for that purpose from Calcutta : and the Presidency of Madras immediately caused preparations to be made for attacking Pondicherry.

Major-General Hector Munro, who commanded the Company's troops on the Coast of Coromandel, assembled the force allotted for that service ; and on the 8th of August, encamped them as they arrived on the Red Hill, about four miles from Pondicherry : but it was the 25th of that month, before a sufficient force was assembled to enable him to lay siege to the place. In the mean time Sir Edward Vernon, who commanded his Majesty's ships and vessels in the East Indies,* failed from Madras on the 29th of July, to block up Pondicherry ; and having chased a French frigate into the road, arrived at his station in the evening of the 8th of August. Soon after that, he got sight of six sail to the S. W., and gave chase to them ; but, on account of light airs of wind, could make nothing of it until the 10th, when, at six in the morning, he saw five ships bearing down on him in a regular line abreast. The Commodore stood for them with his squadron, forming a line ahead : and at noon, brought to in that position to receive them. The breeze then shifting to the seaward, he got the weather-gage, and immediately made the signal to bear down upon

* See Note 105.

upon the enemy, who had formed on the starboard tack. Commodore Vernon intended to have formed his line upon the larboard tack, till the leading ship had stretched abreast of their rear, and then to have tacked and formed opposite to the enemy's ships : but having very little wind, and being uncertain of its continuance, he thought it necessary to bring them to an action, which became general at three quarters past two, and was at times extremely close. At three quarters past four, the enemy made sail upon a wind to the S. W. The British ships had received so much damage in their masts, sails, and rigging, that Sir Edward was obliged to haul to the N. E., in hopes of thereby securing the weather-gage, and of being able to bring them again to action next morning. During the night, and a great part of the morning of the 11th, they were employed in reeving, splicing, and knotting the rigging : and on board the Rippon, they got up a main-top-sail yard and fore-top-mast, the others having been destroyed. They stood on to the N. E., with light airs of wind, until midnight, and then tacked to the S. W. ; but at day-light on the 11th, could see nothing of the enemy. It was the French Squadron, commanded by M. de Tronjolly, that had engaged the British on the 10th ; and it consisted of one ship of sixty-four guns, two large frigates with heavy metal, and two armed country ships.* After suffering severely in their hulls, and having a number of men killed and wounded in the action, they got into Pondicherry road in the evening of the 10th, and remained there till the 21st of October, on which day Sir Edward Vernon, with the British squadron, appeared before that place. He had been endeavouring, since the 16th of August to reach that port, but the winds and currents which then prevailed, had greatly retarded his progress. On the 20th at midnight, the squadron anchored, about midway between Pondicherry and Cuddalore ; and a vessel being perceived standing in for the enemy's fleet, the signal was made to weigh anchor and chase. Soon after day-break, on the 21st, they came up with and took

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* See Note 106.

her. She proved to be l'Aimable Nannette of l'Orient, but last from the Mauritius, in ballast. Just as she struck, the French squadron hove in sight, being then under way in Pondicherry road, and standing to the N. E. under an easy sail. But as the land breeze failed the British fleet, before they could get near enough to commence an action, and as the sea breeze did not set in before five o'clock in the afternoon, and was then very faint, Sir Edward Vernon was obliged to delay his design of engaging the enemy until the next morning. He then stood into Pondicherry road, and came to an anchor; expecting, as they shewed no intention of going off, that the French squadron would do the same: but, when day-light appeared, the enemy's fleet were vanished, and gave no more disturbance during the siege. On the 25th, at day-break, a strange sail was perceived very close to the squadron; on which Sir Edward Vernon made the Coventry's and Seahorse's signal to chase. They immediately stood out to sea, with all the sail they could crowd, and to prevent losing company with the frigates, the Commodore weighed anchor and followed them. About half past eleven in the forenoon, he saw the Seahorse engaged with the chase; which soon struck, and proved to be the Sartine, one of M. de Tronjolly's squadron, which had lost company a few days before. She was a fine ship, only two years old, and a prime sailer; and, when taken, had only twenty-six nine pounders mounted, though pierced for thirty-two guns. She was purchased into the service. As from that time Sir Edward Vernon kept the town closely blocked up by sea, we shall turn our attention to the operations of General Munro, who, on the 21st of August, took possession of the bound-hedge, within cannon-shot of Pondicherry; and thus cut off the enemy from all communication with the country.

It having been determined to carry on two attacks, ground was broke on the north and south sides of the town, on the 6th and 7th of September; and on the 18th, the batteries were opened. They consisted of twenty-eight pieces of cannon and twenty-eight mortars. The enemy returned a very brisk fire, which

which at day-break, was equal in strength to that of the besiegers ; but towards evening, the fire from the town slackened, and the batteries of the besiegers had apparently the superiority.

The obstinate defence made by M. de Bellecombe, rendered it necessary to act with caution ; and although the violent rains which fell at that time greatly retarded the works, the approaches were continued with the utmost expedition. A gallery being carried into the ditch from the southward, a breach made in the bastion called L'Hopital, and the faces of the adjacent bastions being also destroyed, it was resolved to pass the ditch, by a bridge of boats made for the purpose, and to assault the place. As the batteries of the besieging army had likewise been very successful in the attack against the north side of the town, and ruined the east face of the north west bastion, a float was prepared for passing troops over the ditch in that direction, at the very instant in which others were crossing it on the south. Another attack was also intended. It was to have been made on the seaside, to the northward, where the enemy had stockades running into the water. The storming of the town was to have taken place on the 15th of October, before day-break : but an unforeseen accident obliged the execution of this plan to be postponed. On the 14th, the water in the ditch to the southward was so swelled, by the incessant rains which had fallen for some days before, that it forced itself into the gallery, broke it down, and damaged the boats intended for the bridge so much, that it required two days hard work to repair the mischief done. Every thing being reinstated, and all the necessary arrangements completed, it was proposed to make the assault on the 17th ; but on the 16th, M. Bellecombe sent M. de Villette, his Aid-de-Camp, with a letter to General Munro, proposing to capitulate ; and the terms being soon settled, the capitulation was signed next day by both parties. Very favourable terms were granted, in consideration of the gallant defence made by M. de Bellecombe and his garrison.* Sir Edward Vernon and the squadron under his command, gave

* See Note 107.

gave all the assistance in their power to the military, and the most perfect harmony subsisted between the two departments. When General Munro was ready to assault the place, he requested aid from the Commodore, who immediately landed two hundred and sixty men from the fleet to assist in the execution of that design. During the siege, the Squadron took three small vessels bound to Pondicherry. The Company's servants paid the utmost attention to the orders they had received, and displayed a laudable zeal for the public good. The Governor General and Council of Bengal fitted out and armed two ships, mounted with forty guns each, which joined the Squadron on the first of October: and the President and Council of Fort St. George reinforced the fleet with three of the Company's European ships, properly armed. These last, Sir Edward Vernon dismissed as soon as the place surrendered, in order that they might proceed on their respective voyages.

General Munro sent home his dispatches by Ensign Rumbold of his Majesty's 6th regiment of foot, one of his Aides-de-Camp, and son to the then Governor and President of Madras: and the Commodore sent his by Captain George Young of his Majesty's ship Rippon. Both officers met with a most gracious reception from the King, who was pleased to order a present of 500*l.* to each, to buy a sword. He was also so well pleased with the services of Thomas Rumbold, Esq; Governor and President of Madras, that he immediately created him a Baronet of Great Britain; and with the services of Major-General Munro, that he conferred on him the Military Order of the Bath.

TRANSACTIONS AT OR NEAR HOME.

FROM the time when the French Ambassador had delivered the rescript, containing the sentiments of his Court, to Lord Weymouth, the utmost diligence had been used in equipping the fleet for sea, as hostilities with France were regarded as unavoidable. It has been already related, that Vice-Admiral Byron

Byron was then sent to North America, with thirteen sail of the line and a frigate: and as the enemy were making mighty preparations at Brest, and their other ports on the western ocean, the Hon. Admiral Keppel was ordered to sea with all the ships that could be mustered, which amounted only to twenty sail of the line.* He sailed from St. Helen's on the 12th of June; and was soon after joined by the *Formidable* of ninety guns, and the *Belleisle* of sixty-four. On the 17th, at noon, about twenty miles to the westward of the Lizard, the squadron being then in a line of battle ahead, steering S. S. W. with the wind at west, two ships, attended by two tenders, were observed seemingly reconnoitring the fleet. The Admiral immediately made a signal for a general chase: and between five and six in the evening, the *Milford* frigate got close alongside the ship which was most to leeward. She proved to be a French frigate called the *Licorne*, of thirty-two guns and two hundred and thirty men, commanded by M. de Belizal. The Admiral made the signal for the chasing ships to bring their chase down to him, and which order Sir William Burnaby endeavoured to persuade the French Captain to comply with, but in vain: during this altercation, the *Hector* of seventy-four guns approached very near the French frigate, and firing a gun with shot, which brought the Captain of the *Licorne* to reason, and he submitted to have his ship conducted to the Admiral. The *Arethusa* frigate, the *Valiant* and *Monarch*, with the *Alert* cutter, gave chase to the other ship and one of the tenders. The ship proved to be the *Belle Poule*, a French frigate of heavy metal. When the *Arethusa* got up with her in the evening, Captain Marshall requested the French Captain to bring to; and informed him, he had orders to conduct him to his Admiral, who wished to speak with him: but with both of these requests he peremptorily refused to comply. Captain Marshall then fired a shot across the *Belle Poule*, which was instantaneously returned by pouring a whole broadside into the *Arethusa*, at that time close alongside of her. An action immediately commenced,

* See Note 108.

menced, which continued more than two hours. The *Arethusa* being much shattered in her masts, sails, and rigging, and there being very little wind to govern her, was thrown into such a situation, that her Captain was unable, by his utmost efforts, to keep her head towards the French ship. The latter, having her head in with the land, and getting her foresail set, stood into a small bay: and at day-light some boats came to her assistance, and towed her into a place of safety. Admiral Keppel expressed the greatest satisfaction at the behaviour of Captain Marshall, his officers and men. The *Arethusa* had eight men killed and thirty-six wounded. The *Belle Poule* had forty-eight killed, four of whom were officers, and fifty wounded. The *Alert* cutter was of the greatest service in this action to Captain Marshall, by fighting the tender that was in company with the *Belle Poule*, and preventing her from affording her frigate any assistance. She was a schooner called the *Coureur*, belonging to the King of France, mounting ten guns, and commanded by M. de Rosolie. Captain Fairfax requested her Commander to stand to the fleet. He made answer, that he should do as the frigate did: and upon the *Belle Poule's* firing at the *Arethusa*, he fired his guns into the *Alert*. Captain Fairfax immediately ran the *Alert* on board of him, and continued in that situation, in close action, upwards of an hour; when the *Coureur*, being boarded by the *Alert's* crew, surrendered. The enemy had five men killed, and seven mortally wounded: the *Alert* had four men wounded, two of them mortally.

About nine o'clock, when the *Hector* conducted the *Licorne* into the fleet, the Admiral sent Sir Charles Douglas to leeward in the *Stirling Castle*, to the *Hector* and *America*, to let their Captains know that it was his orders, that they should bring her under the *Victory's* stern. Sir Charles Douglas was likewise charged by Admiral Keppel, to express every civility to her Captain; to inform him, that the Admiral would see him when the ships and frigate got up to the fleet in the morning; and that, in the mean time, he would attend him, and take

take care that he should not be molested. The Admiral was greatly surprised, about nine o'clock in the morning of the 18th, by observing, that the French frigate was seemingly going upon the other tack. One of the ships that was attending her fired a shot across her; upon which she discharged her whole broadside and musquetry into the *America*, at the very moment Lord Longford was upon the gunwale, speaking to her Captain in the most civil strain. Several of the shot struck the *America*, and wounded four of her men. The French Captain then struck his colours. It would have been but the just reward of his temerity, if Lord Longford had in return poured a broadside into his ship; but, much to his credit, the prudence of that officer, and his humanity for the crew of the *Licorne*, prevailed over his resentment against the French Captain.

When Admiral Keppel had duly considered the conduct of the Captains of the two French frigates, he judged it proper to send the *Licorne* to Plymouth: and though the behaviour of the enemy would fully have vindicated his making prize of every French ship he met with, even after this insult, he suffered several of their merchant ships to pass unmolested through his squadron to their different ports. Early in the morning of the same day, a ship was seen in the N. W. quarter, standing for the fleet; but she soon hauled away. On observing this, the Admiral sent the *Foudroyant*, *Courageux*, and *Robust*, in pursuit of her: and soon after, the *Milford* frigate, which had been damaged by the *Licorne* sneering on board of her, but was then repaired as well as time would permit, was ordered to follow them. On the 19th, the wind being very light and easterly, the *Proserpine* joined the fleet, and was also directed to chase. Before twelve o'clock, the frigates and other ships had nearly got up with the chase; when the Admiral made the signal to bring her into the fleet. The French Captain, M. de Ranfanne, whose ship was the *Pallas*, a frigate of thirty-two guns and two hundred and twenty men, having no means of avoiding this order, submitted. From the motives already

already mentioned, the Admiral judged it proper to send her also to Plymouth.

It redounded much to the honour of the French Court, that on board of each of these frigates there was found an order, signed by M. de Sartine, the Marine Minister, *not to molest that useful navigator Captain Cook, on any account whatever.* From the intelligence which Admiral Keppel received, that the French had a very superior fleet ready to put to sea, he returned to Spithead on the 26th of June, to wait for a sufficient reinforcement.

On the 10th of July, the French King wrote a letter to the Duc de Penthièvre, Admiral of France, authorising him to grant letters of reprisal, against all ships and vessels belonging to the King of Great Britain and his subjects: but fourteen days prior to the date of that letter, his Most Christian Majesty had sent orders to his Governors in the West Indies, to commence hostilities against Great Britain in that quarter; and by which means the island of Dominica fell into their hands.

Thus war was commenced, without any formal declaration on either side. The three prizes taken by Admiral Keppel's squadron were condemned, purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy. The Pallas had her name changed to the *Convert*.

Admiral Keppel, having obtained certain information of the strength of the fleet, which the French were fitting out with the greatest diligence at Brest, returned to St. Helen's on the 27th of June. Having watered and refitted his squadron, now augmented to thirty sail of the line, he again put to sea on the 9th of July,* and proceeded to the westward.

The French fleet, consisting of thirty-one sail of the line, under the command of the Comte d'Orvilliers, who had under him Admirals the Comte du Chaffault and the Duc de Chartres,† put to sea from Brest on the 8th of July; and next day fell in with his Majesty's frigate Lively, which had been sent to cruize off that port. The Curieuse cutter, commanded by

* See Note 109.

† See Note 110.

by the Chevalier du Romain, was ordered by the French Admiral to give her chase, and soon came up with her, and ordered her to lie to. With this order, Captain Biggs positively refused to comply. The Iphigenia frigate of thirty-two guns coming up at this time, her Captain (M. de Kerfaint) also hailed the Lively, and desired the Captain to come and speak with his Admiral; but this request he likewise refused. A broadside was then poured into his ship; and, finding that all resistance would be in vain, he ordered his colours to be struck.

We come now to relate the particulars of an action between the British and French fleets, the consequences of which battle employed, for some months, the ablest pens in the nation; and unfortunately, raised a spirit of party which years have not been able entirely to extinguish. We have been at the greatest pains to investigate this important subject, in which two brave and excellent officers became so deeply involved. It cannot be denied, that both were intent to do their duty and serve their country to the utmost. Their unfortunate disagreement on a particular point, in which perhaps both were to blame, is ever to be lamented: but that the victory gained over the enemy was not followed up as it might been, and which was fully intended and ardently wished for by both, we hope to be able to demonstrate, was not the fault of either Admiral Keppel or of Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, but proceeded solely from *the defect of proper signals.*

Admiral Keppel having got sight of the French fleet on the 23d of July, used every endeavour to approach it on that and the three following days. But the French being to windward, and uniformly avoiding the British fleet, rendered all his efforts fruitless, till by a sudden shift of the wind, and a dark squall which took the sight of the fleets from each other, the Comte d'Orvilliers found himself in such a situation as rendered at least a partial action inevitable. It appears to have been these circumstances, and these circumstances alone, which brought on the battle of the 27th of July; which the French Admiral seemed inclined to render as indecisive as possible, by coming
to

to action upon contrary tacks. From the conduct of the enemy's fleet, from the 23d to the 27th, Admiral Keppel had every reason to suppose that they expected to be reinforced; and he knew that they might at least be rejoined by the two ships which had separated from them on the evening of the 24th.* Actuated by these considerations, he thought it his duty to use every means to bring on an action. In conformity with this view, he carried all the sail he could—consistently with keeping his ships collected; and he resolved to risk something in point of regularity of onset, to disappoint the designs of a flying enemy.

This was the general situation of affairs, when the French fleet were seen on the morning of the 27th of July as on the preceding days, about three leagues to windward of the British, standing on the larboard tack, the wind about S. W. And this was also the tack upon which the English were, at day-break in the morning. Admiral Keppel continued pressing on toward the enemy; and perceiving some part of Vice-Admiral Palliser's division not sufficiently connected with the centre, between five and six o'clock in the morning made the signal for six or seven ships of that division to chace to windward, in order to bring those ships more toward him, and collect the force of the fleet, without losing ground. About nine o'clock the French tacked or wore, and sailed on the starboard tack. But the wind about this time coming a little more southerly, Admiral Keppel continued on the larboard tack, till a quarter past ten, when the English fleet tacked together by signal, and stood on the same tack upon which the French were. Soon after the British fleet had changed to the starboard tack, to stand toward the enemy, the wind came two points to the westward, which brought the heads of the British ships in a direction for the sterns of the French. In this situation the two fleets were, when the dark squall which hath been mentioned, prevented them from seeing each other for above half

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* The Duc de Burgogne of eighty, and Alexandre of sixty-four guns.

an hour. When it cleared up, the French were found to have changed their position, and were endeavouring to form a line of battle ahead, upon the larboard tack. By the operation of wearing, and endeavouring to form the line, they found themselves so much to leeward, that, inclined as the British were to come to action, the French could not avoid coming within gun-shot. Upon perceiving this dilemma, the Comte d'Orvilliers ordered his ships to steer from the wind, and approach the fleet of Britain. But it would appear, that the ships in the van of Admiral Keppel's fleet were not approached so near by the enemy as those of the centre and rear, as they did not receive the same degree of damage; the reason seems to have been, that the French Admiral had been either so late in taking his resolution to engage, or so unexpectedly forced to it, that the van of the French fleet had nearly passed the van of the British, before the headmost ships of the enemy steered from the wind to bring on the action. And if they had not thus failed large, it would only have been in Admiral Keppel's power, at that time, to have attacked their centre and rear. The two fleets accordingly passed upon contrary tacks, each of the British ships engaging such part of the enemy's fleet, as came within reach of their guns; and a warm cannonade took place, though it was not of long duration: for, from the beginning to the end, the firing did not continue quite two hours. The action, on the part of the British, was an action in chace; on the part of the French, it seemed to have been brought on to avoid the disgrace of a notorious flight. Very soon after all the ships of the British fleet had passed the French, Admiral Keppel made the signal to wear; changing to the larboard tack with his own ship, he stood toward the enemy. This step, Vice-Admiral Harland had before taken; and Vice-Admiral Palliser had also wore his ship very soon after he came out of action. In addition to these evolutions to renew the action, Admiral Keppel made the signal for a line of battle ahead, very soon after his ship was on the larboard tack. But the Commander in Chief of the British fleet perceiving that several of

his ships had received so much damage by shots between wind and water, as to render it impossible for them to change from the starboard to the larboard tack to sustain their Admiral; he was obliged to desist from his intention, and to put his ship again upon the starboard tack; edging down toward those ships of his fleet, which seemed to be most disabled, and which run the greatest risk of an attack by the enemy. Whilst these changes of position were taking place in the fleet of Britain, the French were employed in changing from the larboard tack, to the starboard, as it would appear, again intending to avoid a decisive action, by standing upon the tack contrary to that upon which they expected to meet the British. But the state in which several of the English ships were, from shots received under the water line, by heeling to the wind in time of action, having obliged Admiral Keppel to return to the starboard tack, to join and protect those ships, counteracted the operation of the Comte. D'Orvilliers, who thus found himself under the necessity of continuing upon the same tack with the English fleet. For had the French Admiral ventured another evolution, by wearing to the opposite tack, the contiguous situation of the British would have enabled Admiral Keppel to attack him in the moment of disorder, before his line could have been formed. After the French had changed to the starboard tack, they found that they could not weather, though they might have attacked the British fleet. They, therefore, to avoid action, sailed from the wind, and formed a line of battle ahead, to leeward of the British. Admiral Keppel, in the mean time, did every thing in his power to form the ships in the order of battle. He sent a frigate to Vice-Admiral Harland, to order him and his division, to occupy the station of van division on the larboard, and of rear division on the starboard tack; as his ships had suffered less than those of Vice-Admiral Palfler; and as that was the part of the fleet which would be most exposed to the attack of the enemy. He made the signal for the line of battle ahead; he made the signal for ships to windward to bear down in the Admiral's wake; and the signal for ships to get into their stations, to hasten the formation

tion of the line: and when he found that the enemy did not make the attack upon his rear which they might have done, he sent another message by a frigate to desire Vice-Admiral Harland to resume his proper station in the line of battle, which was in the van of the fleet upon the starboard tack. By Admiral Keppel bearing down to support the ships to leeward, Vice-Admiral Palliser, though his ship was not yet refitted, was brought nearly in his station, and he continued so, as long as the Victory sailed large; which was from a little past three till about five o'clock. But, when the Victory hauled her wind, that change of course brought the Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and the greatest part of his division, from being nearly astern, considerably to windward of their proper stations in the line of battle; and from hence proceeded the different representations of the situation of that part of the fleet, on the afternoon of that day. Those representations were both right. They differed only as to time, which it is a very difficult matter to settle, when the persons concerned were occupied in business so highly interesting and important. It will be evident to every person conversant in naval evolutions, that a very little alteration of course in the Admiral's ship, must produce so great an alteration in the stations of the ships astern, as would require a considerable time to correct. And the derangement, and the time required to rectify it, must be increased in proportion to the distance from the Admiral's ship. The ships near the Victory would soon be able to gain her wake, because they were near to the angle which she made in changing her direction; but those at a distance astern, had a larger space to sail before they could come into the line of her present course. When these positions are considered with attention, and the unsufficiency of the system of signals to express the Admiral's orders and intentions,* are deliberately weighed, we shall be at no loss to

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account

* Admiral Keppel sent three messages by frigates on the 27th of July, all which might have been distinctly communicated by signal, had he possessed a proper system. In his examination, upon Vice-Admiral Palliser's Trial, he says—"I gave a direction—where there was no signal, that is, no applicable "signal."—Admiral Keppel's own words.

account for the want of success on that day, without attributing blame either to the Commander in Chief, or to the Vice-Admiral of the Blue, who seem both, as well as Vice-Admiral Harland, to have been actuated by an earnest desire to serve their country. Admiral Keppel certainly intended, and did every thing in his power, to collect his ships, in order to renew the battle, which undoubtedly would have been done, had the ships of the fleet been brought together, in such a manner, as to give any reasonable hope of making an impression on the enemy. But by the time which was lost, first in discovering that some of the ships were disabled from changing to the larboard tack, with the consequent extension of the fleet by the ships thus standing on contrary tacks; and afterwards by the different messages, which, from the want of proper signals, the Admiral was obliged to send to the two Vice-Admirals, consuming so many hours, it became impossible for him to renew the action before the close of the day. The signal for the line of battle ahead was continued even during the night, with the signal for ships to bear down in the Admiral's wake; and the ships formed as fast as possible: the Admiral continuing such a course and sail as seemed most proper to keep way with the enemy's fleet. Their lights were seen even till day-light next morning. But the Compte d'Orvilliers, sensible of what must have been the issue of a second contest, bore away before the wind about eleven o'clock at night, leaving three of his ships to carry the same lights which his flag-ships bore, the more readily to deceive the British into an opinion, that he intended to renew the action in the morning. At day-light on the 28th, the body of the French fleet was only to be seen from the mast head. The three ships which had been left, also made sail toward their own coast, which was now only about twenty-five leagues distant. Admiral Keppel made the signal for some of his ships to chase; but concluding that all hopes of overtaking them were at an end, he recalled those ships, and preferring a speedy re-equipment to a vain and fruitless pursuit, he stood toward Plymouth with his fleet to refit, that he might as soon

as possible be ready again to proceed to sea in quest of the enemy.

So much has been said, and so many pages have been written, upon the subject of the action of the 27th of July, that we cannot consider ourselves, as having discharged the duty which we owe to the Public, if we do not endeavour to give our readers some idea of what appears to have been the true reason, why a French fleet, something inferior, was able to escape the fleet of Britain, after having ventured to abide the fate of an action. We have related the principal and indisputable facts in as concise a manner as possible ; it remains to collect the cause of the miscarriage from the account which hath been given. But before we proceed, it may be proper to remind the reader, that we have declared it to be our opinion, that the flag-officers, and we now add all the Captains of the English fleet, appear to us to have done their utmost to serve their country, and subdue the enemy on the day of battle. Therefore some other cause, than the faults of the officers, must have operated powerfully to the disadvantage of Britain on that important occasion.

In considering and criticising the conduct which has been pursued by the Commanders in Chief of fleets or armies in battles, nothing is so easy as to conceive and suggest other means than those which were used to subdue an enemy. And if suggesting new modes of management were the principles upon which an officer's conduct was to be examined, the most able, the most brave, must be found deficient. But if a Commander has behaved with courage, and has clearly done the utmost which his ability would admit, reason and justice will acquit him of blame, generosity and wisdom will applaud his conduct. In all actions, but particularly in actions by sea, time is of the utmost importance, every moment is inestimably precious. Half an hour lost may be the infallible loss of a battle ; and less than half that time may render an attack impossible. The favourable instant once past, can never be regained. If the Commander in Chief of a fleet cannot direct

all the necessary movements of his ships, and make known his designs, without the delay which must attend sending frigates to the subordinate commanders, it is impossible that he can communicate his intentions with sufficient dispatch, or seize on the moment which ensures victory. This appears clearly to have been the case with Admiral Keppel. In the morning of the 27th of July he wanted to draw the ships which were to leeward more to windward; and to collect the fleet, in proper order, without losing ground, by bearing away from the enemy. For this particular purpose, the Admiral had *no signal*, he therefore made the one which was most applicable; and that was, for those ships to chase to windward. But there are two ways of chasing to windward. In maritime language, by long boards, or by short boards, that is by standing a longer or shorter time upon each tack. This must be left to the discretion of the different Captains, who would be guided by what they conceived to be the intentions of the Admiral in giving the order; which in this case he had not a signal to communicate. Of the consequences of this signal Vice-Admiral Palliser complained, as it separated some of the ships of his division from him in battle. And this might be unfortunate for him, so far as it might tend to leave his flag with fewer ships; but certainly was not imputable as blame to the Commander in Chief, who could not foresee a battle at the time those signals were made; and who endeavoured to do what was highly proper at that time by the very best means in his power.

As soon as the fleet was out of action, Admiral Keppel made the signal to wear, wore his own ship, and stood toward the French. Had he possessed a signal, to inquire into the injury his ships had received; and had they been furnished with proper signals to communicate their particular condition, each ship would have made known the damage it had sustained, to the Commander in Chief, in a few minutes. By this information, Admiral Keppel would have judged exactly of the force he should be able to bring against the enemy: and the ships of the fleet would not have been separated from each other, by
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the Admiral and many of them standing toward the enemy for near two hours, whilst others were obliged to stand from their Admiral, and from the French, by the damages they had sustained. Thus were the ships of the British fleet extended to so great a distance from each other, that they could not be properly collected by the Admiral's signals, for the whole of the remainder of the day; notwithstanding he certainly made use of every means in his power. And it is to be remarked, that this extension of the ships was owing to Admiral Keppel's earnest desire immediately to renew the battle; which he found it impossible to effect, though he had run some risk, by too great separation, in order to accomplish it.

According to the established order of battle, when the Commander in Chief was on the larboard tack, standing toward the enemy, the station of the Commander in the third post was in the van; and when Admiral Keppel wore to the larboard tack, and hoisted the signal for the line of battle ahead, Vice-Admiral Palliser's place was ahead of the Admiral. But the mode of making the signals on that day, prevented this important order for the line ahead from being communicated; because, by the Admiral's ship, and the repeating frigate, both standing toward the Vice-Admiral of the Blue, it could not be discerned from his ship; and in consequence he stood on toward the Commander in Chief, who soon after wore, to join that part of the fleet which could not follow him. By this defect in shewing so important a signal, a Flag-Officer was led to stand directly from the post which was allotted him; not through any fault or neglect, but because, as he was situated, the signal for his direction could not be seen.

As the ships of Vice-Admiral Palliser's division had come last out of action, and were most shattered; in order to give them time to refit, and present the least damaged part of the fleet to the first attack of the enemy, Admiral Keppel wished to order Vice-Admiral Harland, and his division, to occupy the station in the van of the fleet, upon the larboard tack. For this purpose he had *no signal*; and was therefore obliged

to send a frigate with a message to the Vice-Admiral of the Red. The difference of time, between an order by message, and an order by signal, must always be very considerable; and that time was lost upon this occasion.

After Admiral Keppel had wore back again to the starboard tack, and found that the enemy did not make any attack, but were forming their line to leeward, he judged it proper that Vice-Admiral Harland should re-occupy his proper station in the van. For this order he had *no signal*; and he was again obliged to send a frigate to the Vice-Admiral of the Red. There was a farther loss of time by this second message; and the order was requisite, because the instant the Admiral perceived that the ships of Vice-Admiral Harland's division were no longer necessary astern, it must have been of importance that they should resume their proper station in the van of the fleet.

In the general idea which has been formed of this battle, very little regard has been paid to the time lost in sending the two messages which have been mentioned. But in all the accounts, the third message, which was sent by the Fox frigate to the Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and which was induced by the same inability of communicating the requisite directions *by signal*, appears to have been reckoned of the utmost importance. In the two former messages, the distance and situation of Vice-Admiral Harland's ship might favour their delivery; but in sending to Vice-Admiral Palliser, a very considerable time must have been lost, because the frigate had first to wear, and afterwards to tack, before she could arrive at the Formidable. The most accurate mode of ascertaining this time, appears from the account given of the situation of the ships, as observed in the repeating frigate; and by judging what time such a ship will take to wear, make sail, tack, and proceed about four miles, sailing at the rate of about six miles an hour. From this mode of computation we conclude, that the delay in this instance, between giving this order by signal, and by message, must have been at least an hour.

Having

Having thus recapitulated these material circumstances, we shall proceed to ascertain the whole time which was lost by the want of proper signals upon this momentous occasion. But it must be previously considered, that the great difficulty lay in collecting the ships, so as to renew the battle. It did not depend upon the exact formation of the line, but upon bringing the ships into any connected form, so as to enable them to support each other. The cause of the extension of the fleet, after it came out of action, hath been explained to have happened from the ships standing upon contrary tacks; and, unfortunately, it was this circumstance which first discovered to the Commander in Chief, the nature of the damage which they had sustained. Had not the ships been thus extended, they would have remained nearly in the same form in which they had engaged the enemy; and the loss of time, to collect and arrange them anew, would have been avoided. Thus the whole consequent derangement, and all the delays which ensued, may be imputed to the Admiral's want of information by signal of the actual state of his ships. If it is admitted, that three hours were lost by the unfortunate circumstance of the ships standing upon contrary tacks for above half that time; then there must be added an hour for the two messages to Vice-Admiral Harland; and an hour more for that which was sent to Vice-Admiral Palliser; making in all five hours, imputable to the sole cause of wanting proper signals upon this important day. From the united testimony of those who were present with Admiral Keppel on the day of battle, and from his own declarations, the action would undoubtedly have been renewed, had there been but one hour more of day-light, after the message was delivered to Vice-Admiral Palliser. It follows that, by possessing a proper system of signals on this occasion, at least four hours might have been gained, and ample time afforded the Admiral to re-commence and continue the engagement. And at this time, as the fleets were circumstanced, it is more than probable, that the fate of a battle would have been

been determined, which must, at that period, have eventually decided the fate of a war.

The defects or impropriety of the signals having thus appeared clearly to be the true and the sole cause of the miscarriage, which disappointed the reasonable hopes of Britain on this critical and weighty occasion ; we may be justified in observing, that if an Admiral cannot command all the necessary movements of his ships by signal on the day of battle, he is not upon a footing with an enemy who possesses that advantage : and even with better ships, better men, and more experienced commanders, he may be foiled in his expectations of victory ; if not defeated from his want of the means to direct and to perform the necessary evolutions with his fleet. It would appear that, in the action of the 27th of July, the French in this respect had the advantage of the British ; since they accomplished their object, which was to avoid a decisive action : whilst our Admiral failed in his opposite endeavour of bringing about this event. In the operations of both fleets, the agency was *signals*. To this important subject the French government have certainly paid more attention than the Admiralty of Britain ; they have availed themselves of modern improvements ; but the signals furnished to the British fleet were of a very ancient date. If we may venture to offer an opinion on this very important, though so much neglected subject, we would suggest, from the obvious defect of the British signals on this occasion, that a proper system of signals would require, in the first place, that every signal made by the Commander in Chief should, at all times, be so repeated or conveyed through the fleet, that it must be known to be abroad. Secondly, that he should be enabled completely to communicate his intentions to the commanders of squadrons, divisions, or of single ships ; and to order any part of his fleet, or any individual ship, to steer upon what particular point of the compass he may think proper. And lastly, that after an action, information might be communicated to him of the particular loss and injury which every ship has sustained, that he might be competent to judge

judge what efforts he could make with the force under his command, and what measures he ought to pursue. Had Admiral Keppel possessed a system of signals equal to these necessary purposes, there does not remain a doubt, that the 27th of July would have proved one of the most glorious days ever recorded in the annals of Britain.

Having said so much upon the defects of the signals, which were made use of upon this occasion, in justice to the Admiral who commanded we cannot fail to observe ;—that no part of the blame of not possessing a proper system could be imputable to him. He made use of those which were furnished to the English Navy by the Commissioners of the Admiralty ; with additions made by some of the ablest sea-officers, who had preceded him in naval commands. The season of active service is by no means the most favourable time for digesting a plan of signals ; nor are the ablest naval commanders, though possessing professional skill and abilities in a very eminent degree, necessarily qualified for such an undertaking, which seems to require talents of a very peculiar nature, joined to a certain train of experience, as well as habits of great attention to such an abstract and comprehensive subject. It is perhaps these circumstances which have retarded the progress of knowledge in this important concern. It was unfortunate for Admiral Keppel, it was doubly unfortunate for the nation, that no better signals were furnished upon so weighty an occasion. In a former part of the Naval and Military Memoirs, we have had repeated occasion to mention the same subject :* it is with the utmost regret, that we still find ourselves obliged to add, that this island has an undoubted right to expect that the most active diligence, and the highest degree of professional skill, shall be exerted upon so important a matter ; that the blood and skill of her active seamen may not be spent in vain, through negligence and inattention. The signals which were used by Admiral Keppel, have remained in nearly the same shamefully defective state since the reign of James the Second ; notwithstanding

* See vol. i. pages 196 and 223.

standing the rapid progress of improvement in all the other branches of naval knowledge, not only in this country, but in all the maritime states of Europe. We have understood, that former successes have been produced as arguments in opposition to what hath been urged against the signals which have been so long in use. But those successes were almost always the consequences of great superiority in the force, or were obtained by a few ships. When one fleet has the advantage of another, by a considerably superior force, the assailants may act in the most disorderly manner, and yet be sure of victory; because the inferior force generally avoids battle, and endeavours to escape; and in such attempts irregularity and confusion ensue. But in all other cases where the fleets have been large, and the force nearly equal, experience hath uniformly shown, that a disability of performing the necessary evolutions has been attended with infallible disadvantage. In squadrons consisting of but few ships, signals appear to be of less importance than in great fleets, because there is not the same degree of difficulty in making them perceptible, nor is it required to manage squadrons and divisions; and because the operations of a few ships are simple; whereas those of a great fleet must necessarily be complicated. For these reasons, whilst the British fleets were greatly superior to those of their enemies, or consisted of but a few ships, the defects of the signals were imperceptible, and attended with no bad consequences. But when the fleets of Britain were opposed by equal, or superior force, and were necessarily composed of a great many ships, divided and subdivided, the importance of signals was augmented in an increased proportion, and the want of a proper system in the case of Admiral Keppel, became obvious and fatal at the same moment.

In this action, several of the British ships suffered very much, both in their hulls and rigging. The number of killed and wounded, in Sir Robert Harland's division, was forty-three men killed, and one hundred and forty-four wounded; in Admiral Keppel's division, twenty-two men were killed, and
forty-

forty-five wounded ; and in Sir Hugh Palliser's, sixty-eight men were killed, and one hundred and eighty-six wounded. Twenty of the latter were hurt by some powder blowing up on board the *Formidable*. This accident was occasioned by a man having a cartridge under his arm when he fired his gun. In all, one hundred and thirty-three men were killed, and three hundred and seventy-five wounded.* That the *Formidable* should have suffered more than any of the other ships is the less to be wondered at, when it is considered, that she was longer in action than any ship of the fleet, Sir Hugh Palliser having ordered his mizen-top-sail to be kept aback for that purpose, as he passed along the French line.

The French had six officers and one hundred and fifty-seven men killed ; and twenty-three officers and four hundred and ninety-six men wounded. Among the latter was the *Compte du Chaffault*, who was severely wounded ; and his son the *Chevalier du Chaffault*, who had the small bone of his leg broken.† The ships of the enemy which sustained most damage were *La Bretagne*, *La Couronne*, *Le Sphinx*, *L'Amphion*, and *La Ville de Paris*.

From Admiral Keppel's public letter,‡ it appears, that he entertained hopes, that the enemy would have waited for him and renewed the action next day, and that he took his measures accordingly : but great was his surprise, at day-break on the morning of the 28th, when it was perceived, that the enemy had so greatly increased their distance, that only three of their ships were visible from the quarter-deck, and then bore on the lee quarter of the British fleet ; and that the remainder of their squadron could be seen only from the mast-heads of the headmost ships. The three French vessels, nearest the British fleet, were supposed to be some of their crippled ships : and, at five o'clock, the Admiral made the signal for the *Duke*, *Prince George*, *Bienfaisant*, and *Elizabeth*, to give them chase. He considered these, as the most proper ships in his fleet for such a service ; but it was soon intimated to him, that the

Prince

* See Note LLL.

† See Note LL2.

‡ See Note LL3.

Prince George and Elizabeth had received so much damage in their masts, that they were unable to carry sufficient sail, to afford the least hopes of their coming up with the enemy. On looking round his fleet, he could find no ships in a proper condition to replace these two in a partial chase, far less to warrant his ordering a general one. The chasing ships were therefore recalled: and it was fortunate that this measure was adopted, as it could have answered no purpose to continue the chase. So far were the three ships of the enemy, which they were ordered to pursue, from being crippled, that they were afterwards found to be the best sailing ships in the enemy's fleet, left behind as a decoy. The truth is, that M. d'Orvilliers found his ships had been so roughly handled on the 27th, that he dreaded the consequences of renewing the battle on the 28th, and determined to retire to Brest: but that he might conceal his design from the British, he had ordered three of his best sailing ships to keep astern, and to display the usual lights of the three French Admirals; while, with the rest of his fleet, he made sail towards the French coast. In the morning, his three ships followed him with a press of sail. As the day advanced, the wind became quite favourable for M. d'Orvilliers gaining his point; so that before the fleet of Britain could have come up with him, he would have reached the French coast. Admiral Keppel considering the crippled state of the ships under his command, in their masts and sails; and apprehending, that if he should persevere in the pursuit, and if the wind should blow hard, he might, on the lee shore of the enemy, be involved in dangers from which it might be extremely difficult to extricate himself; judged it prudent to return to England to have his fleet properly repaired, and fitted for carrying on the public service with vigour and effect.

He arrived with his fleet at Plymouth the 31st of July: and having got his ships in a proper state for sea, he again sailed to the westward, with thirty sail of the line and six frigates, on the 23d of August; and on the 11th of September was joined by

by the Suffolk, Defence, and Egmont.* In this cruize, the Admiral had not the good fortune to fall in with the enemy's fleet. M. d'Orvilliers sailed from Brest on the 18th of August, and steered for Cape Finesterre, where he continued to cruize for some time; then altering his station, steered to the northward, kept the sea until the 20th of September, and then re-entered the port of Brest. The fleet of Britain twice gave chase to the *Reflechée* of sixty-four guns, and must certainly have taken her, had it not been for the interposition of fogs, under cover of which she made her escape. Several of the enemy's merchant ships from the West Indies, with very valuable cargoes, were made prizes: and the Admiral, having received intelligence that the French fleet was cruizing in latitude $43^{\circ} 30'$, sent the *Fox* and *Porcupine* frigates, at different times, in quest of it. The latter parted from the fleet on the 20th of September; and next day, in latitude $44^{\circ} 46'$, took a French East India ship from China, called the *Modeste*, which proved a very valuable capture. Not seeing the enemy's fleet, Captain Finch proceeded to Plymouth with his prize.

The *Fox* frigate was not so fortunate; for in her search after the French fleet, on the 10th of September, while she was in chase of a ship and a sloop, the weather being frequently thick and squally, a large French frigate was perceived in the north east, bearing down upon her. Captain Windsor shortened sail, and a warm action soon commenced, which lasted three hours and a half. The *Fox* having lost all her masts, several of her guns being disabled, eleven of her men killed, and forty-nine wounded, some of them mortally, was forced to strike to the *Junon* of thirty-four guns, twenty-eight of which were twelve pounders and six six pounders, and three hundred and thirty-three men, commanded by the Viscount de Beaumont. The *Junon*, from her great superiority, suffered but little in the action. The *Fox* was carried into Brest, where the sick and wounded had the greatest care taken of them. Captain Windsor was so severely wounded in the right arm, that he

was

* See Note 114.

was unable to write, and Mr. Bertie, his First Lieutenant, at his request, informed the Admiralty of this gallant but unfortunate action. Admiral Keppel, not having been able to find the French fleet, returned to Spithead on the 28th of October.

The most delicate and disagreeable subject, that occurs throughout these Memoirs, now falls under consideration. From the praises bestowed by Admiral Keppel, in his public letter of the 30th of July, on the Admirals, Captains, and officers, who served under him, the nation had the pleasure to imagine, that the greatest harmony had subsisted among the Commanders, although their endeavours had not been attended with all the success which there was reason to expect. To state the unhappy misunderstanding which, at this time, took place between Admirals Keppel and Palliser, is a task extremely difficult. It is a subject, on which the rage of party flamed with such unprecedented violence, that it is almost impossible, even now, to enter on its detail, without incurring the suspicion of partiality. Disclaiming such a charge, acknowledging that, in some instances, blame attached to both parties, and far from wishing to offend either of them, it shall be the peculiar care of the Writer of these Memoirs, to present his readers with a simple and concise narrative of facts, without attempting to bias their judgment. By examining, with the attention which he thinks they may deserve, all the authentic papers and publications to which this unhappy controversy gave rise, and which are still in the hands of the public, every one shall be left to form an opinion for himself, on the merits of the question.

It is well known, that Admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser were attached to opposite parties in the British Senate, of which they were both members. The latter being closely connected with Administration, was at that time one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, Lieutenant-General of Marines, and Governor of Scarborough Castle. He was likewise supposed to possess in a high degree, the confidence of the First Lord of the Admiralty. On the contrary, the former was
looked

looked upon as an officer forced on the Ministry, who owed his being employed in that expedition to his popularity with the nation in general; in whose opinion, as well as in that of the service to which he belonged, he stood very high. In these two particulars, the Admiral and Vice-Admiral were peculiarly happy; for both were regarded as officers of great bravery and merit. Unfortunately for Britain, both of them were in a great measure driven from her service, and their very superior abilities lost to their country, by the officious conduct of a person who has never yet presumed to avow his name. Under the mask of a feigned signature, this person intended to give a mortal stab to Administration and their adherents, by imputing the safety of the French fleet, on the 27th of July, solely to the misconduct of Sir Hugh Palliser; who, he averred, had not obeyed the signals of Admiral Keppel, and had thereby prevented that officer from attacking the enemy in the afternoon of that day. This attack upon the character of Sir Hugh Palliser, appeared in a paragraph in a newspaper, called the Morning Intelligencer, of the 15th of October. Happy had it been for the nation, as well as for the sea service, if it had never appeared; as the accusation could answer no good purpose, and has been productive of the most mischievous consequences. Had the misbehaviour of Sir Hugh Palliser been as gross as the author of that paragraph affirmed it to be, it is not likely that the public should have remained ignorant of it, from the 27th of July to the 15th of October; or that Admiral Keppel would have again gone to sea with an Admiral, who had behaved so unlike an officer in sight of the whole fleet.

A person feeling the consciousness of innocence, which Sir Hugh Palliser most certainly did in a very high degree, could not fail to be greatly hurt, by becoming the object of so groundless an aspersion. He waited impatiently until Admiral Keppel came to London, when he made known to him the calumnies that had been cast upon his character, and requested him to sign a paper, contradicting assertions so hurtful to his reputation. This paper, he wished to insert in one of the new-

papers, for the purpose of silencing the slanders that had been so industriously circulated against him. But here, the demon of party rage, which extinguishes every noble principle in the human breast, unfortunately interposed, and exerted her malevolent influence. This request was refused, as it appeared to be derogatory to the dignity of the Commander in Chief of a great fleet, to contradict an anonymous author in a newspaper. An interview took place between the two Admirals; which, far from tending to heal their difference in opinion, rather fostered mutual suspicions of each other, which accelerated the progress of this misunderstanding to a very disagreeable issue. On the one hand, the Vice-Admiral was led to believe, that by being refused what he deemed a reasonable request, the assertions injurious to his reputation were sanctioned by Admiral Keppel. On the other hand, the Admiral suspected, that Sir Hugh Palliser was acting by the advice of his principal friends and supporters, and that by artfully getting him to sign a vindication of his conduct, might furnish the Ministry with a pretext for transferring the whole blame to himself. He was, besides, unwilling to comply with the wishes of a party, which he had no reason to consider as friendly to him. Thus both became irritated, and were carried lengths which, perhaps, the kind interposition of a few dispassionate friends might have prevented. Fortunate indeed it would have been, if, by such means, two men had been reconciled, whose actions had frequently redounded to their own and to their country's honour.

On the 14th of November, Sir Hugh Palliser published, in the newspapers, a vindication of himself; in which he affirmed, that he was not the cause of preventing the French fleet from being attacked on the 27th of July: and in proof of his assertion, accompanied it with a long detail of what had occurred on board the Formidable on that day. On the 2d of December, when the navy estimates came before the House of Commons, in a Committee of Supply, a Member said, that the action of the 27th of July demanded an inquiry. Admiral Keppel spoke in his own vindication, and did not exculpate the Vice-Admiral
from

from what had been alledged against him ; but declared, that after the step he had taken, of giving an account of the action in a newspaper, he would never sail with him again. This determined Sir Hugh Palliser to accuse the Admiral, and to impute to his misconduct the unsuccessful termination of the action of the 27th of July : and accordingly, on the ninth of December following, he sent five charges against him to the Board of Admiralty.* After considering them, the Board sent them, in the evening of the same day, to Admiral Keppel, with notice to prepare for his trial.

When this proceeding came before the House of Commons, the conduct of the Board of Admiralty was severely reprehended, as precipitate in the extreme ; and it was alledged, that they ought to have considered well, whether or not a Court-martial should have been granted at all. Several naval officers, Members of the House, whose names reflect honour on their profession, spake in terms of high approbation of both the Admirals, and lamented the unhappy difference between them. Some of them remarked, that the anonymous libel which had appeared in the Morning Intelligencer, and of which Sir Hugh Palliser had complained to Admiral Keppel, should have been disregarded by him as beneath his notice.

The public papers were daily filled with letters and paragraphs relating to this unfortunate business : and the whole kingdom was put in a ferment about it. Admiral Keppel was, of all the flag-officers, most esteemed by the people, and also highly respected in the navy. To these circumstances it must be added, that his numerous great connections and political friends, who strongly adhered to him on this occasion, made the step taken by Sir Hugh Palliser appear extremely unpopular ; and that on the 30th of December, the Duke of Bolton, Admiral of the White, presented a very strong Memorial to the King, signed by himself and eleven other Admirals, relative to the conduct of the Board of Admiralty in this affair.†

On account of the delicate state of Admiral Keppel's health,

* See Note 115.

† See Note 116.

an act of Parliament was passed, before the Christmas recess, for having his trial on shore, instead of holding it on board of ship, as the former act had ordered. It accordingly commenced, on the seventh of January, 1779, at the Governor's house in Portsmouth. The Court-martial was composed of Sir Thomas Pye, Knt. Admiral of the White, President : Vice-Admirals Buckle and Montagu ; Rear-Admirals Arbuthnot and Roddam ; Captains Milbank, F. S. Drake, Parry, Bennet, Boteler, Moutray, Duncan, and Cranston. Judge Advocate, Mr. Jackson.* The Court continued sitting until the 11th of February, when they pronounced sentence.†

The acquittal of Admiral Keppel gave great satisfaction at Portsmouth ; the town was illuminated : and the same spirit spread all the way to London, where the bonfires, illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy, exceeded all description. It would have been well, if this spirit had exhausted itself in harmless expressions of gladness : but the mob, getting drunk, committed the most shameful outrages. After showing great insolence, they proceeded to break the windows of several noblemen and gentlemen whom they suspected to be friends of Sir Hugh Palliser, forced their way into the houses of Lord Sandwich, Lord North, and others ; greatly damaged the furniture, and were with much difficulty driven out by a party of the military. In Pall Mall, they completely demolished the house of Sir Hugh Palliser, who made his escape just in time to save his life. Such proceedings could bring honour to no party. The friends of Admiral Keppel carried every thing before them : and although most of them were in the party denominated the opposition, or the minority, they succeeded in procuring a vote of thanks of both Houses of Parliament to the Admiral. This honour was conferred unanimously by the House of Lords ; and with only one dissenting voice in the House of Commons. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London

* We shall not take up the reader's time with a detail of the proceedings of the Court-martial, but refer him to the trial, as published by authority.

† See Note 127.

don also voted him the freedom of the city; which was, by their orders, presented to him in a box made of heart of oak.

Sir Hugh Palliser perceiving such a tide of popularity against him, resigned his office at the Board of Admiralty, and his place of Lieutenant-General of Marines; and also, vacated his seat in Parliament for the borough of Scarborough in Yorkshire.

On the 3d of April, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty signed an order for the trial of Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Vice-Admiral of the Blue, by a Court-martial at Portsmouth. This order was addressed to Vice-Admiral Darby, second in command at that place. The trial commenced on board the Sandwich man of war, in Portsmouth harbour, on Monday, April 12th, 1779. The Court was composed of George Darby, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, President: Robert Digby, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Blue; Captains Sir Chaloner Ogle, Knt. Richard Kempenfelt, Joseph Peyton, William Baine, Mark Robinson, Adam Duncan, Samuel Cranston Goodall, James Cranston, Robert Linzee, John Colpoys, and George Robinson Walters: George Jackson, Esq; Judge Advocate.

The Commission from the Admiralty, for trying the Vice-Admiral, set forth:—"That as there appeared several circumstances, in the minutes of the trial of Admiral Keppel, of a criminating nature against Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, which required a very serious investigation, they direct the Court-martial to inquire into these circumstances."

It was signed

SANDWICH.

J. BULLER.

LISBURN.

MULGRAVE.

The Judge Advocate produced the original minutes of Admiral Keppel's trial; and asked the Court, Whether the trial should proceed upon particular criminating parts, or upon the minutes at large? The resolution was, to try the prisoner on the minutes at large.

The trial closed on the 3d of May: when, after two days consideration, on the 5th, they pronounced sentence.*

After so unbiassed a testimony in favour of a brave man, it might have been reasonably expected, that this disagreeable affair would have come to an end, and that the spirit of resentment would have dropped ; but quite the reverse was the case. When Sir Charles Hardy, Governor of Greenwich Hospital, died, his Majesty conferred that office on Sir Hugh Palliser, as some recompence for the sacrifices he had made : and during the prorogation of Parliament, a vacancy happening by death for the borough of Huntingdon, Sir Hugh was elected member for that place. He had not long taken his seat, when an attack was made on him, and on the Minister for the Marine Department, for conferring on him the office of Governor of Greenwich Hospital. This was done on the 4th of December, 1779, by the Hon. Charles James Fox ; who, after a speech of considerable length, said, that he hoped that the sentence of the Court-martial, who tried Sir Hugh Palliser, would be moved for after the holidays : at which time he did not scruple to avow, that his first principal motive for it was, that the First Lord of the Admiralty had promoted an honourable gentleman, who had been convicted of having preferred a malicious and ill-founded charge against his superior officer, &c. This speech was answered in a very able manner by Lord North. As soon as he sat down, Sir Hugh Palliser rose, and after a short but very pertinent preface, requested the leave of the House to read a few thoughts and observations, which he had committed to paper, as some defence of the most injured character in the kingdom ; well knowing how unqualified he was to speak in public, both from want of custom and want of abilities. This request was granted : and the Vice-Admiral read one of the ablest performances, that was ever heard within the walls of the House of Commons. It was soon after printed. Sir Robert Smith moved, that a copy of the minutes of the trial of Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, and the sentence passed on him, be laid before this House ; and his motion was seconded and carried. On the first of February, 1780, Mr. Fox brought his motion against the Earl of Sandwich, for the appointment

appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to be Governor of Greenwich Hospital. He made a long and able speech in support of his motion ; nor were the answers made to it in the course of the debate any way inferior to it. Sir Hugh Palliser again spoke in his own vindication : and most of the principal speakers in the House took a share in the debate. Lord North moved for an amendment to Mr. Fox's motion ; which was agreed to, the votes being two hundred and fourteen against one hundred and forty-nine.

We will not presume to obtrude this disagreeable business on the reader any farther ; but beg leave to refer such as wish for more particular details to the trials at large, which were printed by authority.

This unfortunate war, between the parent state and its North American colonies, produced instances of depravity in individuals, that are rarely to be met with in history. This year affords one of a wretch, who, without any motive of resentment, took up arms against Britain, with the view of enriching himself by the depredations he hoped to make at sea ; and obtaining the command of a privateer, put to sea under the American flag of thirteen stripes. This miscreant was a John Paul. He had been employed about the Earl of Selkirk's as an under gardener ; but, on account of dishonesty, had been dismissed his Lordship's service with disgrace. He then betook himself to sea, and made several voyages to the West Indies, where he got the command of a vessel. He was at Piscataway soon after the rebellion broke out ; and being of no esteem among his own countrymen, that he might conceal his being a British subject, he assumed the name of Paul Jones. Taking a violent part in favour of the enemy, being thought a person of an enterprising spirit, and representing the mighty feats which he could perform on the coast of Scotland, with which he was well acquainted, he got the command of a rebel privateer at that place. She was called the Revenge, mounted eighteen carriage guns, besides swivels, and had a crew of one hundred and fifty men. He appeared off the Scottish coast

early in the month of April, and made several prizes, which he sent to Brest. His next exploit was an attempt to burn the shipping in the harbour of Whitehaven. This he tried on the 23d of April: and his plan would have succeeded to his wish, if one of his people, whom he landed on this service, had not deserted and alarmed the inhabitants. About three in the morning, his boats landed thirty men without being observed. They spiked the guns on the batteries, laid matches on board of several vessels, to which they set fire and then made off. As soon as the deserter perceived the boats put off, he knocked at several doors in Marlborough-street, and warned the people of their danger. The alarm was immediately spread, the people turned out in great numbers, and fortunately came in good time to extinguish the flames. By the delay of a few minutes, not the shipping only, but the whole town would have been in a blaze: and as it was dead low water, their destruction would have been inevitable. Several vessels, however, were much scorched. From the coast of Cumberland, he steered towards that of Scotland; and on the same day, between ten and eleven, he landed a strong party at St. Mary's Isle, (the seat of Lord Selkirk) about two miles from the town of Kirkcudbright. His design was to have seized on his Lordship's person, and to have revenge for being turned off from his service, either by carrying him off prisoner, or by extorting from him a large ransom. The party surrounded the house, and being disappointed in their prize, three or four fellows, each with two pistols at his side, a musquet and fixed bayonet, entered it. They desired to see the Lady of the house; and upon her appearing, with a mixture of rudeness and civility, they told her who they were, and insisted that all the plate in the house must be immediately delivered to them. Lady Selkirk behaved with great composure and presence of mind. She gave orders that the plate should be immediately delivered to them; and Mr. Jones's men marched off with it, without making any farther demands. On the same evening, the privateer came off the entrance of Belfast Loch, and made prize of

of several fishing vessels. His Majesty's sloop the Drake, of fourteen guns and one hundred men, commanded by Captain George Burdon, was at anchor a little above Carrickfergus. This officer mistaking the privateer for a merchant ship, sent his boat to press her men. Jones detained the boat, and stood out to sea. The Drake followed; and on coming up with the privateer, a short action took place; but the darkness of the night separated them. Next morning it was renewed: and after a very warm engagement, which lasted an hour and five minutes, the sloop was obliged to strike. Captain Burdon and his Lieutenant were killed, and twenty-two men were killed or wounded. The Drake had also one of her topmasts shot away. During the action, Jones kept all his prisoners in irons; but as soon as it was over, he put them into the fishing boats he had taken, and sent them on shore.

Jones then proceeded with his prize to Brest, where he met with two mortifications. He made a most pompous report of his cruise to Dr. Franklin, the rebel agent at Paris; but instead of bestowing on him the commendations he expected, the Doctor reprobated, in the severest terms, the plundering of Lord Selkirk's house; and even desired that the stolen goods might be restored. On inspection, the silver work was found to be of little value, being mostly plated.

The Jupiter of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Reynolds, (now Lord Ducie) in company with the Medea of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain James Montagu, being on a cruise off the island of Sazargo, at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th of October, with a westerly wind, gave chase to a ship to leeward. About six in the evening, the Jupiter got close alongside, and began a very brisk action, which the chase returned with great spirit: but after the combat had continued for two hours, the enemy's ship dropped astern, and Captain Reynolds being close in with the land, was under the necessity of hauling off, in order to clear it. At this time, the night being very dark, and blowing fresh, the enemy made off, and Captain Reynolds lost sight both of his antagonist and of the Medea, which had
raked

raked the enemy's ship once or twice during the action. The Jupiter had three men killed, three mortally and eight slightly wounded; and her masts, yards, sails, and rigging, a good deal damaged. Captain Reynolds put into Lisbon to repair the Jupiter; and was there informed, that the ship he had engaged was the Triton, a French ship of war mounting sixty-four guns, commanded by M. de Ligondier, and that she had thirteen men killed and thirty wounded in the action.

A considerable squadron was got ready, the command of which was given to Commodore Rowley. It was ordered out to reinforce the fleet at the Leeward Islands, and was to take under its protection a fleet of East India Company's ships, so far as their voyages lay together. That they might run no risk of being attacked by any detachment from the enemy's fleet at Brest, a strong squadron, under the command of Lord Shulham, was ordered to sail in company with the ships under Commodore Rowley, and to see them fairly into the western ocean. The whole put to sea from Spithead on the 26th of December;* but most unfortunately, on the 28th, when off the Berry-head, it then blowing a fresh breeze, the fleet under close-reefed topmasts, the wind at S. W., his Majesty's ship the Russell being near the London East India ship, and Commodore Drake finding that he could not weather her, they being on contrary tacks, bore away; at which time, the London clapped her helm a-weather, and the two ships ran on board of each other with great violence. The London had her bowsprit and fore-mast carried away, and her bow stove in. She was otherwise so much damaged, that she sunk† in half an hour

* See Note 119.

† On board the London was a valuable jewel, (a pearl). The proprietor had given a considerable sum of money for it, but did not know the full extent of its value, until it was shewn to some gentlemen of the Royal Society. It was sent to Petersburg, and there offered to the Empress for one hundred and sixty thousand rubles, which were refused. A few minutes before the London went down, Captain Daniel Webb, (her Commander) recollecting that he had such an article under his care, at the hazard of his life, stepped into his cabin and saved it. It was said, that the proprietor, when informed of such a singular piece of service, in gratitude made a voluntary offer to the Captain of a considerable share of the jewel, which he generously refused.

hour after the accident: and of one hundred and sixty or seventy people she had on board, only sixty were saved. Upon the London making the signal of distress, every ship near endeavoured, as much as possible, to assist her. In addition to this truly melancholy disaster, a man of war's boat, which had saved near a dozen of the London's crew, in attempting to save more of them, unfortunately got directly over the place where the London sunk, was drawn down by the suction of it, and all on board perished. More of this unfortunate crew might have been preserved, if, in hope of being able to save the ship, they had not kept too long at the pumps. The Russell, which had her cut-water and head carried away, and her bowsprit sprung, saved fourteen of them; but she was so much damaged, that the Admiral sent her back to Portsmouth to be repaired.

The success of his Majesty's cruizers this year was considerable, in capturing a number of very valuable French merchantmen; and also Dutch ships, which had warlike stores on board, or produce of the French colonies. Captain Henry Trollope, who commanded the Kite cutter, drove ashore a large French ship near the cliffs of Calais, and destroyed her. He took seven valuable prizes in one cruise; among which was De Vreyheid, a Dutch ship of six hundred tons, laden with masts and planks, bound for Brest, and valued at 40,000*l*. On assurance being given to the master, that his ship should be restored, and his freight paid, he acknowledged the cargo to be French property. The Shaftesbury privateer took Le Guyenne of seven hundred tons, and twenty-six guns, from Martinico to Bourdeaux, having on board one thousand hogheads of sugar, besides coffee, tobacco, and indigo, the whole valued at 50,000*l*. The Sarah privateer of Liverpool took the Aimable Magdalina, from Guadaloupe to Nantz, with a cargo of sugar, coffee, cotton, sixteen thousand lbs. of ivory, upwards of twenty thousand dollars, valued altogether at 40,000*l*. The following list will show, that the loss of the French East
India

India Company, which they sustained in the course of a few months, was great beyond example :

<i>Prizes.</i>	<i>From whence.</i>	<i>By whom taken.</i>
1 <i>Modeste,</i>	China,	Porcupine.
2 <i>Firme,</i>	Pondicherry,	Tartar and Alexander privateers, Liverpool.
3 <i>Gaston,</i>	Bengal,	Henry and Two Brothers do. do.
4 <i>Compte d'Artois,</i>	Mauritius,	Minerva and Ranger do. Bristol.
5 <i>Carnatic,</i>	Ben. & Pondi.	Mentor,
6 <i>Deux Amis,*</i>	China,	Knight, } privateers do.
7 <i>Iris,*</i>	Mauritius,	Townside,
8 <i>Duc d'Aiguillon,</i>	China,	Resolution privateer of Guernsey.
9 <i>Aquilon,†</i>	————	Peter do. Liverpool.

The losses sustained this year by his Majesty's navy were considerable. The *Minerva* of thirty-two guns ; the *Fox* and *Active* of twenty-eight guns each ; the *Lively* of twenty guns ; the *Helena*, *Senegal*, *Zephyr*, *Drake*, and *Ceres* sloops ; the *Thunder* bomb-ketch ; the *Hinchenbroke* armed vessel ; *Alert* and *Folkestone* cutters ; and the *York* and *Enterprize* tenders, were taken by the enemy. The *Mermaid* was drove ashore by the enemy on Cape Henlopen, and wrecked. The *Juno*, the *Orpheus*, and *Lark* of thirty-two guns ; *Cerberus* of twenty-eight guns ; the *King's-fisher* sloop, and some galleys of eight guns each, were burnt at Rhode Island, to prevent them falling into the enemy's hands. There the *Flora* of thirty-two guns and *Falcon* sloop were sunk, for the same reason. The *Swift* sloop was burnt off Cape Henry, also for the same reason. The *Somerset* of sixty-four guns was wrecked on Cape Cod. The *Arethusa* of thirty-two guns was wrecked on Molines island, near Ushant. The *Cupid*, the *Zebra*, the *Falcon*, the *Dispatch*, the *Spy*, and *Otter* sloops, foundered or were wrecked in North America. The crews of the *Falcon* and *Dispatch* perished along with the ships. The *Swallow* sloop foundered coming from the East Indies, and all on board perished. The *Minerva*, *Lively*, *Helena*, *Senegal*, *Zephyr*, and *Ceres*, were in the course of the war retaken.

SHIPS

* Were both wrecked on the Welch coast.

† Retaken.

SHIPS ADDED TO THE ROYAL NAVY THIS YEAR.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Alexander,	74	Raleigh,	32
Alfred,	74	Medea,	28
Culloden,	74	Pomona,	28
Jupiter,	50	Resource,	28
Janus,	44	Amphitrite,	24
Convert,	32	Hyæna,	24
Licorne,	32	Hydra,	24
Sartine,	32		

1779.

It cannot fail to be as disagreeable to the real friend of his country, as to the Writer of these Memoirs, to find the enemies of Britain yearly increase, as she grew more exhausted with the bloody and expensive contest she had with her American colonies, which had, unfortunately for both parties, lasted but too long. The Parliament met on the 25th day of November, 1778 : and from the King's Speech to both Houses, the nation clearly saw, that so far from being freed from the calamities of war in which they were involved, there appeared but too great a probability of their being soon engaged in an additional contest, with the two principal branches of the House of Bourbon. His Majesty said, that he had called them together at a conjuncture which demanded their most serious consideration : for in the time of profound peace, without pretence of provocation, or colour of complaint, the Court of France had not forborne to disturb the public tranquillity, in violation of the faith of treaties, and of the general rights of Sovereigns ; at first by the clandestine supply of arms and other aid to his revolted subjects in North America ; afterwards by avowing openly its determination to support them, by entering into formal engagements with the leaders of the rebellion ; at length by committing open hostilities and depredations

dations on his faithful subjects, and by an actual invasion of his dominions in America and the West Indies. He trusted, that it was unnecessary for him to assure them, that the same care and concern for the happiness of his people, which induced him to endeavour to prevent the calamities of war, would make him desirous to see a restoration of the blessings of peace, whenever it could be effected with perfect honour, and with security to the rights of this country.

In the mean time, he had not neglected to take the proper and necessary measures, for disappointing the malignant designs of its enemies, and also for making general reprisals: and although his efforts had not been attended with all the success, which the justice of the cause, and the vigour of the exertions which had been made, seemed to promise; yet, the extensive commerce of his subjects had been protected in most of its branches, and large reprisals had been made upon the injurious aggressors, by the vigilance of his fleets, and by the active and enterprising spirit of his people.

His Majesty farther observed, that the great armaments of other powers, however friendly and sincere their professions, and however just and honourable their purposes may have been, must necessarily engage their attention: and that it would have afforded him very great satisfaction to have informed them, that the conciliatory measures, planned by the wisdom and temper of Parliament, had had the desired effect, and brought the troubles in North America to a happy conclusion.

In this situation of affairs, his Majesty said, that the national honour and security called loudly upon them for the most active exertions; and that he had no doubt of their heartiest concurrence and support: for, added he, “from the
“vigour of your councils, and the conduct and intrepidity of
“my officers and forces by sea and land, I hope, under the
“blessing of God, to derive the means of vindicating and main-
“taining the honour of my crown, and the interests of my
“people, against all our enemies.”

With

With the increase of enemies, the violence of faction did not subside; and the addresses in both Houses were not carried until after very warm debates, in which the conduct of Ministry was the object of severe animadversion. It would have been well for the country, if these disputes had been productive of no worse consequences; but the violence of party rage was such, that in the attacks made on the measures of the Minister, the weakness of the State was so fully exposed to the view of its enemies, that they could not fail to avail themselves of the discovery. The address in the House of Commons was carried by two hundred and twenty-six against one hundred and seven. In the House of Lords, the First Lord of the Admiralty was warmly assailed on the state of the navy. He denied that its condition was so bad as had been represented; and owned, that Administration had been much too slow both in naval and military preparations; but attributed this tardiness, partly to the nature of the Government, partly to a mistaken lenity, and partly to the affording a greater degree of credit to the assurances of other powers, than the event had warranted. In this House the address was carried, upon a division, by a majority of sixty-seven against thirty-five. The minority proposed to negative the whole of it.

In the course of this session, seventy thousand men were voted for the sea-service, including seventeen thousand three hundred and eighty-nine marines: and the sum total of the supplies granted by Parliament, amounted to 15,729,654l. 5s. 4d.*

The Court of Madrid having now made every preparation for war, and sent instructions of its hostile intentions to all their Governors in America, thought it high time to throw off the mask. It had indeed taken such steps, and shewed such strong attachment to the Court of Versailles, that a public declaration of its design to break with Great Britain was scarcely a matter of surprise. On the 30th of October, 1778, it had published a very interesting declaration, which might be considered

* See Note 120.

sidered as an indirect approbation of the commercial treaty between France and the rebellious colonies of North America: but it was not until the 16th of June following, that the Marquis d'Almodovar, the Spanish Ambassador at London, delivered to Lord Weymouth, by order of his Catholic Majesty, a rescript, in which he recited the various causes of complaint which he had against Great Britain; and stated, that he had often applied in vain for redress, and was therefore determined no longer to refrain from doing justice to himself and his subjects, but to make use of the powers which the Almighty had put into his hands, for obtaining by force, the reparation of injuries, which he could not otherwise procure.* It is well known, that the specious reasons, held out to the world by the King of Spain, as the causes of his adopting hostile measures, were not his real motives for this conduct. The fact was, that the Court of Spain was not inclined to go to war with Britain at this time; but that the treaties into which it had entered with France, and the unceasing importunities of the French Ministry for the fulfilment of these treaties, dragged it, with reluctance, into the contest. If the British navy had been in the state in which it ought to have been, Spain would, in all probability, have relinquished her alliance with France rather than have entered into a war, in which she had much to lose and little to gain. Another strong reason for her joining France at this time, will afterwards fall under our notice.

On the 17th of June, a Message was sent from the King to both Houses of Parliament, informing them of the rescript delivered to Lord Weymouth, by his Catholic Majesty's Ambassador; and stating, that in consequence of that communication, he had not only recalled his Ambassador from the Court of Madrid, but had also taken the proper measures for repelling such an unjust attack. Both Houses returned the most affectionate and loyal addresses; assuring his Majesty, that they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes, and support him against all his enemies. On the 19th of June, a proclamation

* See Note 121.

mation was issued for making reprisals on Spain; and at the same time another, containing regulations for the distribution of prizes, during the continuance of hostilities with that country. The King prorogued the Parliament on the 3d of July; and on the 9th, a proclamation was issued, which informed the public, that intelligence had been received of an intended invasion of the kingdom by the forces of France and Spain, gave orders to the proper officers to watch the sea-coasts with the greatest care, and authorised them, upon the first approach of the enemy, immediately to remove all horses, oxen, cattle, and provisions to places of security, at a proper distance from the place where the enemy might effect a descent.

Government took every precaution in its power to defeat the enemy's designs. Every ship fit for sea was put in commission; several old ones were fitted up, manned with a draught of old sailors from Greenwich Hospital, and placed as floating batteries at the entrances of the rivers Thames and Medway. In England, the Dukes of Rutland and Ancaſter, and the Earls of Wincheſea and Harrington, ſhewed a laudable example, each of them raiſing a regiment of a thouſand men. The corps raiſed by the three firſt of theſe patriotic noblemen, were given to officers of long ſervice and diſtinguiſhed merit. Several other regiments were raiſed, ſome of which were given to veteran officers. The Earl of Harrington, as ſoon as his regiment was completed, embarked with it for the iſland of Jamaica; and continued to ſerve there, until the concluſion of the war. A ſmall corps of dragoons was raiſed by Major Holroyd, (now Lord Sheffield): and regiments of infantry, (ſencibles which had rank in the army while they continued embodied, but which were not to quit the kingdom) were alſo raiſed by the Earl of Fauconberg, the Hon. George Auguſtus North, Sir Thomas Egerton, (now Earl of Wilton) and Major Liſter, (now Lord Ribbleſdale). The Weſt India merchants ſubſcribed money for Government to raiſe a regiment for the defence of the iſland of Jamaica.

In Scotland, the ſame military ſpirit prevailed. The Dukes

of Hamilton, Gordon, Argyle, and Athole, the Earl of Seaforth, and Lord Macdonald, each patronised the raising of a regiment; and the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow raised each a battalion at its own expence: but the blindness of party rage prevented the city of London from imitating their example. That the nation should not be destitute of defence, while those brave men were serving their country, and fighting her battles abroad, the Dukes of Buccleugh, Gordon, and Argyle, and the Countess of Sutherland, raised each a regiment of fencibles of a thousand men.

Many of the principal cities and towns in Great Britain offered large bounties, for seamen and able-bodied landmen to enter on board his Majesty's fleet. In consequence of these bounties, a considerable number of volunteers were obtained: but the exigencies of Government were unfortunately so great, that it became necessary to have recourse to the odious and unconstitutional mode of impressing seamen into the service. The man who could devise a scheme, by which this detestable measure could be avoided, and the navy manned wholly by volunteers, would deserve the highest reward his country could bestow. By these means, in the course of a fortnight, no fewer than six thousand five hundred and seventy-nine men* were obtained, as appeared by the returns made to the Admiralty, exclusive of what were raised in Scotland and Ireland.

The

* London,	517	Bristol,	640
The Thames to the Sea,	200	The Ports on the north and	} 382
Ipswich,	46	South Side of the Bristol	
Harwich,	30	Channel,	
Lynn,	126	The Ports of Cornwall,	280
Yarmouth,	370	Plymouth,	180
Hull,	420	Exeter, &c.	390
Newcastle,†	326	Bridport, Poole, Weymouth, &c.	500
Whitehaven,	382	Spithead and Portsmouth,	200
Liverpool,	442	Ports from thence to Margate,	760
Bancafter,	142		
Chester,	96	Total,	6579

† On the 2d of July, orders arrived from the Admiralty, for the discharge of all the keelmen and pilots impressed from protection.

The East India Company were not behind hand in giving every support to Government: for at a General Court, held at their house in Leadenhall-street, June 23d, three resolutions were unanimously agreed to, viz.—First, That this Court do forthwith offer a bounty of three guineas each to the first two thousand able seamen, two guineas each to the first two thousand ordinary seamen, and one guinea and a half to the first two thousand able-bodied landmen, who shall voluntarily enter themselves to serve on board his Majesty's fleet, from and after this 23d day of June: and that the said respective bounties be paid over and above all other bounties whatsoever, and without fee or deduction. Second, That this Company, at their own expence, and with all possible dispatch, do cause to be built three ships of war, of seventy-four guns each, with masts and yards, to be delivered to such officer as his Majesty shall appoint to receive them.* Third, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and draw up an humble address to his Majesty, to express our duty and affection, and to convey these resolutions to the throne.

As the French had been very active in sending two powerful reinforcements to their fleet in the West Indies, one of which proceeded by the coast of Africa, where it did a great deal of mischief, it was absolutely necessary to dispatch Commodore Rowley thither, with a strong squadron. They had also been dispatching single ships to the East Indies, where it seemed probable that they intended gradually to collect a large naval force. To counteract their designs in that part of the world, Sir Edward Hughes was sent out early in the spring, with seven sail of the line, two frigates, a sloop and two bombs, with orders to call at Senegal and Goree in Africa; and if possible, to reinstate the British settlements there.

Rear-Admiral Gambier being ordered home from New York, Rear-Admiral Arbuthnot was appointed to the command of his Majesty's fleet employed in America, and took along with him four sail of the line, a fifty gun ship, and a

* These ships were named the Ganges, Bombay Castle, and Carnatic.

frigate. This squadron was long detained by contrary winds in Torbay; and when it put to sea proceeded a considerable way to the westward, in company with a strong squadron under the command of Vice-Admiral Darby. Vice-Admiral Byron and Rear-Admiral Barrington having returned to England, from their commands at the Leeward Islands, were replaced by Vice-Admiral Hyde Parker, who continued in the command there until the arrival of Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney. A very strong fleet was assembled at Spithead early in the spring: and when the trial of Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser was finished, Admiral Keppel and Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Harland obtained leave to strike their flags; and this fleet was put under the command of Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, having under him Rear-Admirals Sir John Lockhart Ross and Digby. Several small squadrons* were also stationed on different parts of the coast, to prevent the enemy from landing troops.

On the 29th of March, in pursuance of his Majesty's pleasure, the following Flag-Officers of the fleet were promoted, viz.

George Mackenzie, Matthew Barton, Esqrs. Sir Peter Parker, Knt. the Hon. Samuel Barrington, Rear-Admirals of the Red; and Mariot Arbuthnot, Robert Roddam, George Darby, and John Campbell, Esqrs. Rear-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue.

James Gambier, William Lloyd, Francis William Drake, Esqrs. Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. Hyde Parker, Esq; Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.

The following Captains were also appointed Flag-Officers of his Majesty's fleet, viz.

John Evans, Mark Milbank, Nicholas Vincent, John Storr, Esqrs. Sir Edward Vernon, Knt. to be Rear-Admirals of the White.

Joshua Rowley, Richard Edwards, Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, Esqrs. and Sir John Lockhart Ross, Bart. to be Rear-Admirals of the Blue.

Captains

* See Note 122.

Captains John Elliot, Hon. Robert Boyle Walsingham, and William Hotham, were appointed Colonels of Marines, in the room of Admirals Rowley, Graves, and Digby.

Admiral Sir Thomas Pye, Knt. succeeded Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. as Lieutenant-General of Marines.

His Majesty was pleased, on the 15th of January, to confer the honour of Knighthood on Captain Andrew Snape Hamond of his Majesty's ship *Roebuck*; likewise, on Captain Hyde Parker of his Majesty's ship *Phoenix*, for the gallant services they had performed in North America.

On the 17th of April, his Majesty was pleased to appoint John Earl of Sandwich, John Buller, Esq; Lord Charles Spencer, Wilmot Earl of Lisburne, Henry Panton, Esq; Constantine John Lord Mulgrave, and Robert Man, Esq; (the last in room of Sir Hugh Palliser, who had resigned) to be Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

On the 6th of July, the same Board was again appointed, with the exception of Lord Charles Spencer, in whose place Bamber Gascoigne, Esq; was named.

The office of First Lord of Trade and Plantations, the duties of which had for some time been performed by the Secretary for the American Department, was again disjoined from that office, and Frederick Earl of Carlisle appointed to it.

A partial change in Administration took place on the 24th of November, Henry Earl Bathurst being appointed Lord President of the Privy Council, in room of Earl Gower; and Wills Earl of Hillsborough appointed one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, in room of Lord Viscount Weymouth, both of whom had resigned.

We now proceed to give an account of the naval and military operations, which fall within the plan of this work, in the different quarters of the globe, for the year 1779, beginning with the East Indies.

EAST INDIES.

ON the 14th of March, a detachment of the East India Company's troops from Tillicherry, under the command of Colonel Braithwaite, was sent against the French settlement of Mahé on the Malabar coast. On the 16th, the Colonel sent a summons to the Commandant of that place, requiring him to surrender; but a positive refusal to this demand being received, a battery was begun to be erected by the seapoys, on an eminence within three hundred yards of the enemy's nearest post: and on the 19th, (before it was ready to open) a flag of truce came out, with proposals for surrendering the place and its dependencies. By the terms of capitulation, private property was to be protected: in the evening of that day, the Company's forces were put in possession of the fort, and on the day following, of all the places in the neighbourhood dependent on it. After this conquest, the French had not a flag flying in India.

The French having at various times detached single ships of the line to their islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, with a view of collecting a large naval force in India, Government was under a necessity of sending out a strong squadron, under the command of Sir Edward Hughes,* for the protection of the East India Company's settlements, as well as of their trade. He sailed from Spithead the 7th of March, and had orders to endeavour to retake our settlements on the coast of Africa, of which the French had recently dispossessed us.

AFRICA.

A FRENCH squadron, under the command of the Marquis de Vaudreuil,† arrived off the mouth of the river Senegal on the 30th of January. On board of this squadron was a detachment of land-forces, under the command of M. de Lauzun, which

* See Note 123.

† See Note 124.

which being landed, marched towards Fort Louis. This fort is built on an island, about twelve miles from the bar, at the entrance of the river. Unable, from the weakness of its garrison, to make resistance, Mr. Stenton, its Governor, proposed to capitulate. Its garrison were made prisoners of war; and the French found in it, twenty-six pieces of brass and fifty-six of iron ordnance, ten mortars, and eight patteraroes.—All the British settlements up the river likewise fell into their hands. M. de Lauzun made Fort St. Louis the chief French settlement on the African coast, and removed most of the artillery, ammunition, and even most of the garrison from the island of Goree. While M. de Vaudreuil was employed in taking and destroying the remainder of the British settlements on that part of the coast, he sent some frigates, under the command of the Chevalier Pontevéz, against Fort James in the river Gambia. They arrived there on the 11th of February; and as the garrison was very small, the place surrendered at discretion, on the first summons. In the fort, they found forty-eight pieces of cannon, three mortars, and a considerable quantity of provisions and military stores: and in the river, they made prizes of seventeen vessels, many of which were laden with negro slaves, elephants teeth, and other articles of traffic to a great amount. They sent a small vessel thirty leagues up the river above the fort, where they took possession of such British settlements as had not been abandoned and destroyed on hearing of their approach. On the 6th of March, the Chevalier proceeded with his frigates to the Isles de Los, near the mouth of the river Sierra Leona, took and destroyed the British factory situated on one of these islands, and spiked the cannon which protected it. M. de Vaudreuil, having attained the object of his expedition, proceeded with his squadron across the Atlantic, and joined M. d'Estaing at Martinico.

Soon after the departure of the French, Sir Edward Hughes arrived with his squadron on the coast. He found no difficulty in retaking the island of Goree, and making the people on it prisoners. The enemy intended to have demolished the works

on that island ; but he arrived in time to prevent the execution of their design. He landed cannon, ammunition, and stores, and put the place in the best condition of defence that time and circumstances would permit. Finding that he could make no impression on Fort St. Louis in Senegal river, he left four companies of the regiment of Royal Welsh Volunteers at Goree, and proceeded on his voyage for the East Indies.

The French having sent a ship of the line and two frigates, to escort some vessels with troops and stores to their settlements on the coast of Africa, landed them at Senegal ; and immediately after that, made an attempt on the island of Goree. But before they commenced their cannonade, their Commadore sent ashore the following message :

*“ On board the King of France’s ship the Heros,
“ Nov. 14th, 1779.*

“ SIR,

“ THE King, my Master, has given me orders to take the
“ place you command ; I come to demand the surrender there-
“ of. I know you have very little force ; and your situation,
“ which is not sufficient to resist the force I have to oppose.
“ You may depend upon the best treatment on my part, for
“ yourself and garrison : or else, Sir, I let you know, I shall
“ use all the laws and the rigour that war authorises. I have
“ the honour to be, in perfect consideration, Sir, &c.

“ LE ROY DE LA GRANGE.”

“ To Monsieur, Commander of the
“ Fort of Goree, at Goree.”

To which the following answer was sent :

“ Goree, Nov. 14th, 1779,

“ SIR,

“ IT is inconsistent with my duty to give up the garrison of
“ Goree, intrusted to my care by his Britannic Majesty : I am
“ there-

“ therefore determined to defend it to the last extremity.

“ GEORGE HERBERT ADAMS,

“ *Lieut. Gov. and Captain of the Prince of Wales's Regt.*”

“ *To M. Le Roy de la Grange, Brigadier*

“ *of the Naval Armies of France.*”

Next day, he made his attack with his ship and two frigates; and continued the cannonade for three hours. The garrison could bring only three guns to bear on them; but these were so well directed, as to oblige the enemy to sheer off.

WEST INDIES.—LEEWARD ISLAND STATION.

VICE-ADMIRAL BYRON made repeated attempts to put to sea from Rhode Island harbour. In these, several of his squadron suffered much: and in one of them the Sultan was nearly wrecked by striking on a rock, but was saved by the superior abilities of her Commander, Captain Fielding, and his officers. At last, however, he effected his purpose on the 14th of December, 1778; but the prevailing winds were contrary, and blew with such violence, that while they lay at anchor off Newport, many of his ships parted their cables and lost anchors. The fleet encountered much bad weather on its voyage to the West Indies; and in a hard gale at south on the 18th, attended with an uncommonly high and tumbling sea, in which all the ships rolled and pitched exceedingly, it received considerable damage. In this gale, the Trident had her main-mast sprung so very badly in four places, that it would bear only a jury top-mast; the Fame was dismasted, and the Diamond frigate was left in charge of her. The Vice-Admiral, with the remainder of his fleet, arrived at the island of St. Lucia, and formed a junction with Rear-Admiral Barrington on the 7th of January.

M. d'Estaing, who, by his numerous frigates, obtained early intelligence of Admiral Byron's approach, withdrew his whole force from St. Lucia on the 29th of December, and retired
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under the protection of the fortifications of Fort Royal harbour in the island of Martinico. While Vice-Admiral Byron was refitting his squadron, he stationed some of his best sailing frigates, to watch the motions of the French fleet; and ordered the Carysfort, Maidstone, and Ariel frigates, belonging to the American squadron, and then refitting at Antigua, to join him. As the Ceres and Weasel sloops, belonging to the West India squadron, had unfortunately fallen into the enemy's hands, he was obliged to send the Pearl frigate to England with his dispatches.

The French Admiral, it is supposed, having received very exaggerated accounts of the shattered condition, in which the British squadron arrived in the West Indies from North America, conjectured that the crews would be busily employed in refitting the ships, and that not expecting an attack, they would be lying in disorder and unprepared for action. Learning, at the same time, that some of the ships were in the harbour of the Carenage, and others with Admiral Byron at anchor in the Cul de Sac, he judged it expedient to avail himself of these circumstances, by making an attack on the latter. He therefore put to sea, on the 12th of January, with thirteen large ships of the line and three frigates, and stretched over towards St. Lucia. Intelligence of this movement being brought to the Vice-Admiral, he got under way, early in the morning of the 13th, with an equal force; and, with a press of sail, stood for the French squadron in a line of battle ahead: but as soon as M. d'Estaing discovered the British fleet, he tacked about, and made all the haste he could to regain his former asylum. This he accomplished before it was possible to bring any of his ships to action. He was pursued close to the entrance of Fort Royal bay, when a fresh breeze springing up, Admiral Byron returned with his squadron to St. Lucia, and brought them to an anchor in Gros Islet bay, the station most favourable for enabling him to intercept the supplies expected at Martinico from Europe. Rear-Admiral Barrington, not relishing the quiet appointment of commanding the ships in the Carenage harbour,
with

with his usual spirit, requested the Vice-Admiral's leave to serve along with him. This was very readily granted: and he accordingly struck his flag, then flying on board of the *Isis*; and, to the great joy of the whole fleet, re-hoisted it on board of the *Prince of Wales*. Commodore Rowley, who, with his convoy and reinforcements in good condition, had joined Vice-Admiral Byron on the 12th of February, was ordered, with the *Sussex*, *Magnificent*, *Stirling Castle*, *Medway*, *Centurion*, *Isis*, *Preston*, and *Carysfort*, to cruize to the windward of Martinico, in order to intercept the succours expected there by the enemy. He failed on the 19th of February, but was recalled in a few days, on the Vice-Admiral's receiving intelligence, that notwithstanding all his endeavours to prevent it, M. de Grasse, with four or five sail of the line, and some frigates and store-ships, had arrived safe at Martinico. After this disappointment, the Vice-Admiral ordered some detachments from his fleet occasionally to cruize to windward, and others between the islands of Martinico and St. Lucia, for the purposes of intercepting the enemy's commerce, and of protecting the British small craft, when reconnoitring the strength and position of the French squadron in Fort Royal bay. One of these detachments, under the command of Captain Griffith, was carried greatly to leeward by the current on the 15th of March. Its disagreeable situation could not fail to be observed from the high lands of Martinico: and, no doubt, the great improbability of its being able to rejoin the squadron at anchor in Gros Islet bay, St. Lucia, induced M. d'Estaing, accompanied with four flag-officers, fifteen sail of the line, and some frigates and small vessels, having a number of troops on board, to come out of Fort Royal bay on the morning of the 18th, in hopes of cutting it off. At this time, the British squadron was in a situation rather disagreeable. Several of the ships, that had been cruizing, were taking in a supply of water at the Cul de Sac; and Captain Sawyer, with three sail of the line and a fifty gun ship, was on a cruize to windward of Martinico; but Vice-Admiral Byron, with the remainder of the squadron, split his cables,
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put to sea, and with the utmost dispatch made directly for the enemy's fleet. Although both squadrons were nearly equal in point of strength, and exactly so in number of ships, no sooner did M. d'Estaing perceive the British fleet in sight of him, than he tacked, and retreated to Fort Royal bay, with all the sail his ships could carry, and once more got under the protection of the batteries. Next morning, the Vice-Admiral stood with his squadron into the bay, in order to view the enemy's position. On his approach, several of the French men of war got under sail and worked higher up the bay. He then stood for his former anchoring ground; but a strong lee current kept him several days at sea, before he could reach it.

Vice-Admiral Byron, probably in conformity to his instructions, quitted his station at St. Lucia in the beginning of June; and, with his squadron, proceeded to the island of St. Christophers, in order to collect the trading ships of the different islands, that were bound for Britain. M. d'Estaing availed himself of his absence, by detaching the Chevalier du Romain, Lieutenant of the Navy, with four armed vessels, on board of which he had embarked upwards of four hundred men, under the command of M. de Canonge, to make an attack on the island of St. Vincent. This little armament left Martinico on the 9th of June, and reached the place of its destination on the 16th. The French immediately effected a landing, and marched to Caliaqua, a strong post defended only by a few men, who surrendered on their approach. Unfortunately the Governor and the Council were much at variance, and the troops of the garrison dispersed in various parts, so that they could not be collected, in time to make any effectual opposition to the enemy, who were joined soon after landing by five or six hundred Caribs, and marching towards Kingston, the capital of the island. Mr. Morris, the Governor, after consulting with Lieutenant-Colonel Etherington, who commanded the troops, on what was most proper to be done in the present emergency, came to the resolution of proposing terms of capitulation, for surrendering the island to the French. These were finally adjusted

justed and signed on the 18th.* M. d'Estaing, having been reinforced with five sail of the line and three frigates, under the command of Commodore M. de la Mothe Piquet, who had escorted a numerous convoy safe to Martinico on the 27th of June, after a voyage of forty-eight days from Brest, embarked six thousand five hundred regular troops on board his squadron, put to sea on the 30th, and stood for the island of Grenáda. Being well informed how feebly it was garrisoned, he hoped to make a conquest of it, before Admiral Byron could arrive to succour it. He appeared off the island with his whole force, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line and twelve large frigates,† on the morning of the 2d of July: and in the evening, came to an anchor in Molinier bay, where he immediately disembarked his land-forces, who took post on the neighbouring heights.

Lord Macartney, the Governor, sensible that the citadel of Fort St. George, being commanded by the Hospital Hill, and other high grounds in its vicinity, was not capable of standing a siege, resolved to make his principal stand against the enemy on Hospital Hill: and, for this purpose, had various works thrown up, and cannon mounted on them, from the base to the summit of the mountain. Having done all that was possible in so short a time, to defend the trust committed to his charge, he entertained hopes, that he would be able to hold out, until Admiral Byron with his fleet could come to his assistance. Trusting to this, he removed his plate and other valuable effects to the Hill. His whole land-force amounted to about one hundred and fifty regular troops, and between three and four hundred militia: the only naval force he had, was his Majesty's armed sloop the York; and she proved of excellent service. Lord Macartney, immediately on the appearance of the enemy's fleet, dispatched expresses to St. Lucia and other places, to inform Admiral Byron of his situation. On the 3d, the French General Officers reconnoitered the ground on which Lord Macartney had taken post, and made their

* See Note 125.

† See Note 126.

their disposition for a general assault: They arranged their troops into three columns, headed by M. d'Estaing, Compte Arthur Dillon, and Viscount de Noailles, and formed three different attacks. In the afternoon, M. d'Estaing sent a summons to Lord Macartney; who returned for answer, that though unacquainted with the strength of the French military force, he was resolved to defend the place to the utmost of his power. A little before midnight, the enemy began the attack. The column led by Compte Dillon suffered much from the cannon of the York sloop, as she was moored in the Carenage, and the route which it was obliged to take lay very near her, and was directly exposed to her broadside. While the French troops were ascending the hill, M. de Vaudreuil, then commanding the enemy's fleet, ordered in seven or eight line of battle ships, which cannonaded the citadel. The British troops received the enemy with their usual bravery, and for a considerable time resisted all their efforts: but being at last overpowered by superior numbers, and their works being successively carried, they were compelled to retire to the citadel, which was entirely commanded by the post from which they had been forced. In the morning of the 4th, the enemy pointed the cannon, on the hill which the British had been obliged to abandon, against Fort St. George; and Lord Macartney, finding all further resistance in vain, sent a flag of truce to request time to draw up terms of capitulation. M. d'Estaing would allow only an hour and a half for that purpose: but within the limited time, the officer returned to the enemy's advanced post, from which he was conducted to M. d'Estaing, who behaved with the greatest insolence, and displayed a contemptible littleness of mind, wholly incompatible with the character of a brave officer and a gentleman. Far from giving all due praise to Lord Macartney, for the gallant defence he had made with a handful of men, he was offended at his Lordship's presumption, for making resistance to such a force as he had under his command. He refused to grant any terms but such as he should dictate: and these were so very extravagant, that the
Governor,

Governor, after consulting with the principal merchants and inhabitants, whose opinion coincided with his own, considered it as more eligible to surrender at discretion than to comply with them. This resolution enraged the French Commander still more; for it disappointed him of obtaining a large sum of money, which he had demanded by way of ransom for the town of St. George. He considered the place as taken by storm: and in this temper of mind, let loose the ruffians under his command to pillage the town for two hours. This service, they performed to the satisfaction of their leader; and while they were employed in exercising every cruelty on the helpless inhabitants who had thrown themselves on their mercy, he gratified his brutal inclination, by heaping all the indignities in his power on his Britannic Majesty's Governor. The taking of the island of Grenada cost the French about four hundred men in killed and wounded. They carried off an immense booty from the town of St. George; and exclusive of his Majesty's armed sloop York, took thirty merchant ships in the harbour and roadsteads, mostly loaded. Their cargoes were moderately estimated at 400,000*l.*; exclusive of the large quantities of rum and cotton which they had on board. In the island, the enemy found upwards of one hundred pieces of cannon, twenty-four mortars, and a great quantity of all sorts of military stores and provisions.

The British fleet, under Vice-Admiral Byron, made its appearance on the 6th. Having seen the convoy for Europe to a distance which, in his opinion, would put them out of danger, he intended to call at Barbadoes, on his way back to St. Lucia; but a strong lee current, with the wind at east, retarded his progress so very much, that it was the 30th of June before his Squadron could weather the island of Martinico. This obliged him to bear away for St. Lucia, where he arrived on the 1st of July in the morning. Here he first learned that the enemy, with a small force, had made themselves masters of the island of St. Vincent.

Admiral Byron, without losing time, consulted with Major-General

General Grant with respect to the measures which ought to be immediately adopted ; and the result of their conference was, a resolution to make an attempt to retake that island. The necessary orders were accordingly forthwith issued, for embarking a large body of land-forces on board of transports, and for getting ready every thing needed for this expedition. At this instant, intelligence was received, that a fleet had been seen to leeward that very morning, steering a course for Grenada ; on which the Vice-Admiral immediately wrote to Lord Macartney, by one of his aides-de-camp, who happened to be then at St. Lucia, and informed his Lordship of what was going forward ; assuring him, that the troops and squadron should immediately come to his relief, if he should hear either at St. Vincent, or on the voyage thither, that Grenada was attacked. The Vice-Admiral, at the same time, sent an officer in a fast sailing schooner, to look into Fort Royal bay in the island of Martinico. This officer on his return reported, that he saw there thirteen large ships, which he supposed to be ships of war ; that he was confirmed in this opinion, by observing, that one of the ships carried a flag at the foretop-gallant-mast-head ; and that he was prevented from reconnoitring them so closely as he intended, by a frigate and some small craft being sent in chace of him. This intelligence deceived Admiral Byron very much, by leading him to conjecture, that M. d'Estaing had not been joined by his expected reinforcements from Europe. The utmost dispatch having been used in embarking the troops, the squadron, consisting of twenty sail of the line * and a frigate, fourteen transports, four ordnance, four hospital, and two convalescent ships, three victuallers, and a horse sloop, put to sea on the 3d of July, and made for the island of St. Vincent. In the afternoon of the 4th, the Admiral received intelligence from St. Vincent, that on the 1st instant, a French fleet of more than thirty ships of war had passed by that island ; and that it was reported, that M. de la Mothe Piquet had joined M. d'Estaing about a week before that time, with a strong
reinforce-

* See Note 127.

reinforcement. In consequence of this information, he made a signal for instantly bearing up for Grenada; but it unfortunately fell calm, and continued so until nine o'clock in the morning of the 5th. In the course of that day, he was joined by two schooners from Grenada. By the accounts which they gave, the invasion of the island was put beyond a doubt; but as to the strength of the enemy's fleet, their reports were very contradictory. Admiral Byron, designing to be off the harbour of St. George early in the morning of the 6th, drew the ships of war from among the transports, leaving for their protection only the Suffolk, Vigilant, and Monmouth, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Rowley, who he intended to superintend the debarkation of the troops for the relief of the island. In the night between the 5th and 6th, one of the enemy's frigates, employed on the reconnoitring service, discovered the British fleet and gave notice of their approach. Soon after day-break on the 6th, the French fleet was perceived off St. George's, most of them at anchor, but getting under way, seemingly in great confusion, and with little or no wind. Vice-Admiral Byron immediately made the signal for a general chase, and also for Rear-Admiral Rowley, and the war ships with him, to leave the convoy, and join the squadron. At this time, not more than fourteen or fifteen of the enemy's fleet appeared to be ships of the line: and from the position in which they were, the Vice-Admiral made the signal for his ships to engage, and to form as they could get up. In consequence of this signal, Vice-Admiral Barrington in the Prince of Wales, with Captain Sawyer in the Boyne, and Captain Gardner in the Sultan, being the headmost ships and carrying a press of sail, had advanced so far, that about seven in the morning, they were fired on by the enemy's ships; but at so great a distance, that they made no return until they got considerably nearer. The breeze which carried forward those ships, soon reached the enemy also, and enabled them to draw out of the cluster, in which they were lying, and to get into a line of battle, by bearing away and forming to leeward on the

starboard tack. Their strength was then discovered to be greatly superior to what any information, which the British Admiral had received, had led him to suppose; for it plainly appeared, that they had thirty-four sail of war ships, of which twenty-six were of the line, and most of them very large. Vice-Admiral Byron, notwithstanding his disparity of force, continued the signal for a general chase; and in addition to it, made the signal for a close engagement: but although the utmost exertions were made to obey these orders, the enemy most industriously frustrated all attempts to effect it, by always bearing up, when the British ships got nearer to them than they inclined. Their superior sailing enabled them to keep what distance they chose, and effectually prevented the British rear from ever getting into action. The enemy being to leeward, did great damage to the rigging and masts of the British ships, while the shot which they returned did not reach them. The ships that suffered most were those with which the action began, and the Grafton, Captain Collingwood; the Cornwall, Captain Edwards; and the Lion, Captain Cornwallis.

The spirited conduct of Vice-Admiral Barrington and his two seconds, exposed them to a severe fire as they approached the enemy and began the battle: and the Grafton, Cornwall, and Lion, happening to be to leeward, sustained the fire of the whole French line as it passed on the starboard tack. The Monmouth suffered exceedingly, by Captain Fanshaw's having bore down in the most gallant manner to stop the van of the enemy's squadron, and bring it to action. The Captains, whose ships were so fortunate as to get into action, behaved with the greatest intrepidity, and kept up a constant and well directed fire, by which the enemy suffered very much. The Vice-Admiral perceiving that the ships already mentioned, and the Fame, were so disabled in their masts and rigging as to be totally incapable of keeping up with the squadron; and observing that the Suffolk had received considerable damage, in an attack made by Rear-Admiral Rowley upon the enemy's van, ordered the signal for chase to be taken in. Still, how-
ever,

ever, he continued that for a close engagement; formed the best line that circumstances would permit, and kept the wind, to prevent the enemy from doubling upon him, and thereby cutting off the transports. The former, they seemed inclined to do; and the latter was very much in their power, by means of their numerous frigates, of which the British squadron had, comparatively speaking, only a few. About three in the afternoon, the French squadron tacked to the southward. This manœuvre obliged Admiral Byron to do the same, that he might be in readiness to support the Grafton, Cornwall, and Lion, which were disabled, and a great way astern; but the Lion being likewise much to leeward, having lost her main and mizen-topmasts, and the rest of her rigging and sails being cut in a very extraordinary manner, bore away to the westward when both fleets tacked: and M. d'Estaing, finding sufficient employment even for all his ships, did not detach one after her. As the Grafton and Cornwall stood towards the British fleet, they might have been weathered by the French, if they had kept their wind. The latter was in peculiar danger, as she was farthest to leeward, had lost her main-topmast, and was otherwise much disabled. The enemy, however, adhered so strictly to their plan of not bringing on a close engagement, that notwithstanding their great superiority in ships and weight of metal, they declined to accept of advantages which endangered their deviating from that plan; and contenting themselves with firing at these two ships when passing them barely within gun-shot, they permitted them to rejoin their squadron, without taking any step to cut them off. The action continued with great violence, from seven in the morning till eleven; and commenced again at half an hour after three in the afternoon, and continued till sunset.

The Monmouth was so totally disabled in her masts and rigging, that as soon as night set in, Vice-Admiral Byron judged it proper to order her to make the best of her way to Antigua. Captain Fanshaw, on his way to that place, fell in with his Majesty's ship the Lion; and Captain Cornwallis

seeing the Monmouth approach, suspected that she might be one of M. d'Estaing's squadron sent in quest of him, as he was certain that the disabled state of his ship could not have escaped the enemy's notice. Though the *Lion* was little better than a floating wreck, he was determined to convince them, that his courage was not extinguished; and accordingly prepared for action, resolved to defend his ship to the last extremity. This truly heroic conduct, redounds much to the honour of Captain Cornwallis, his officers, and ship's company: who finding that, in their present condition, their efforts to rejoin Vice-Admiral Byron were vain, bore away for Port Royal in the island of Jamaica, where they arrived on the 20th of July.

The loss sustained by the British in the action of the 6th, amounted to two Lieutenants of the navy, one Lieutenant of marines, and one hundred and eighty-three men killed: and Vice-Admiral Barrington, one Lieutenant of the navy, two Lieutenants of the army serving on board the fleet, one Lieutenant of marines, and three hundred and forty-six men wounded. The loss in men appears to be very moderate, when compared to the damage sustained by the ships in their masts and rigging, which the mode of fighting adopted by the enemy, was peculiarly calculated to destroy. This misfortune was the more severely felt, on account of the great difficulty of replacing those articles, especially the former, in the West Indies. Until they were replaced, the ships remained in a great measure unserviceable. This, for a while, contributed greatly to increase the enemy's superiority in those seas, and gave great and just alarm to the remainder of the British possessions in that quarter. The only use, however, which M. d'Estaing made of the very superior force under his command, was a visit of retaliation to Admiral Byron, while at anchor off Basseterre in the island of St. Christophers, in return for the like visits which he had more than once paid to him at Martinico. Several reasons were assigned, for his inactivity after the conquest of the Grenades. The plan to be followed up by the French, of joining their American allies in driving the British
troops

troops from the southern colonies, may be reckoned as one of these: but perhaps the true cause was, the very great loss of men which they had sustained in the sea-fight of the 6th of July. The amount of this loss they endeavoured, as much as possible, to conceal; but the best accounts which could be obtained, state their killed at twelve hundred, and their wounded at fifteen hundred men. Nor will this account seem to be exaggerated, when it is considered, that in addition to the usual crews of the French line of battle ships, which are always numerous, they had on board a great number of land-forces. This must necessarily have crowded the ships exceedingly: and as the battle was a succession of fierce assaults, rather than a regular action, and the chief aim of the British was at the hulls of their antagonists ships, their shot could not fail of making dreadful havock between decks, where the men are mostly stationed. In the account, published by authority, of the loss sustained by the French in this action, they confine their specification to officers only; and among them it was very considerable, both in the sea and land services. In the former three Captains were killed; and in one ship, the Captain and five Lieutenants.

When the British fleet was close in St. George's bay, before the action commenced, the French colours were seen flying upon the fort and other batteries. This put it beyond a doubt, that the enemy were in complete possession of the place: and from the very great superiority of land as well as of naval force which they possessed, it was perceived, that to dislodge them and to recover the island would be impracticable. The Vice-Admiral, therefore, a little before the close of day on the 6th, sent orders to Captain Barker, the agent, to make the best of his way, with the transports under his direction, to Antigua or St. Christophers, whichever he could fetch. During the night, the Admiral kept his squadron between them and the French fleet, which, at sunset, was about three miles to leeward. Only one transport, which had on board some companies of the 4th regiment, fell into the enemy's hands.

M. d'Estaing, in the course of the night, retired with his squadron to the harbour of St. George, Grenada: and Vice-Admiral Byron proceeded with his fleet to the island of St. Christophers. Rear-Admiral Barrington returned to England. Admiral Byron, in his public letter, bestowed the greatest encomiums on the officers and men under his command, and concluded it in the following terms: "I think myself justifiable in saying, that the great superiority in numbers and force, would not have availed the enemy so much, had not their advantage over us in sailing, enabled them to preserve a distance little calculated for deciding such contests."

The Vice-Admiral, with his squadron, reached St. Christophers on the 15th of July; and on the day following, the Monmouth joined him. Here he was also joined by the transports, with Major-General Grant and the troops on board. Left any attack should be made on the fleet while at anchor here, he formed his squadron into a line of battle ahead, and placed the transports and smaller vessels within it, and close to the shore. He used the utmost dispatch to refit his squadron in the best manner he could; but this was not accomplished on the 21st, when M. d'Estaing, with twenty-eight sail of the line, attended by a number of frigates and smaller vessels, made their appearance, and paraded for some hours before Basseterre. The French Admiral formed his fleet into a line of battle ahead, and stood towards the rear of the fleet of Britain, as if he had meant to challenge Admiral Byron to come out and fight him. This was a mere gasconade of a vapouring Frenchman; who, notwithstanding his immense superiority of force, took care to order his squadron to bear up and stand off shore, before it came within random shot of the British fleet. In the evening he shaped his course for Cape François, in the island of Hispaniola, where he concerted his measures for his intended expedition against Savannah.

In the month of August, Vice-Admiral Byron sailed for England: and the command of the squadron devolved on Rear-Admiral Hyde Parker; who, as soon as it was refitted, sailed

to the southward, and had the good fortune to intercept a small French fleet, chiefly laden with provisions for M. d'Estaing's squadron.* A small squadron was detached to cruize off the island of Martinico, under the command of Captain Edwards of the Cornwall, who, on the 24th of October, saw two sail, one in chace of the other. The latter was known, by signal from the former, to be an enemy. Captain Edwards immediately ordered his ships to chace in such a manner, as to cut off the enemy's vessel from the island. Seeing no possibility of escaping, she soon surrendered, without a gun being fired on either side, to the *Proserpine*, the frigate that was in pursuit of her: and proved to be the *Alcmene*, one of the *Compte d'Estaing's* squadron, of thirty guns and two hundred and twenty men, commanded by M. de Bonneval. She was purchased into the service, and added to the Royal Navy, by the same name. The *Preston*, being on a cruize between the islands of Martinico and St. Lucia, on the 18th of December, between eight and nine in the morning, made the signal for a fleet. This was no sooner observed by Rear-Admiral Parker in the *Princess Royal*, then with his squadron at anchor in Gros Islet bay, St. Lucia, than he made the signal for all his ships to slip their cables, and chace to windward.

The Captains were then assembled on a Court-martial: and as the ships were in a course of fitting, some lay on the heel, others had their sails unbent, and all of them had great numbers of their men employed on shore, in wooding and watering. Under these untoward circumstances, it would have been a matter of astonishment, to a person unacquainted with the character of British officers and seamen, to have beheld the activity, spirit, and dispatch, with which they got the squadron to sea.

As it stood over for Fort Royal in Martinico, the fleet to which it gave chace was discovered to be a convoy belonging to the enemy: and before four in the afternoon, nine or ten sail of them had run on shore on that island, and were set on fire by

the boats of the squadron, either immediately or early next morning. About this time, the *Boreas* frigate had got up and engaged the frigate which escorted the convoy, in the bay of Fort Royal; but a French Rear-Admiral,* in a ship of seventy-four guns, accompanied with two line of battle ships, which were at anchor off the fort, slipped their cables, bore down to the assistance of the frigate, and compelled the *Boreas* to sheer off. This dexterous manœuvre of the French Admiral, not only saved their frigate, but also some of their merchant ships. As soon as he had done this service, he hauled his wind, and kept plying to windward, in order to regain his former station.

Rear-Admiral Parker made every effort to come up with him. The *Conqueror*, *Albion*, *Elizabeth*, *Vigilant*, and *Centurion*, were, at this time, ahead of the *Princess Royal*. About five o'clock, the *Conqueror*, which was the headmost ship, and to windward of the others, got within distance of the French Rear-Admiral, who immediately began the action. Nothing could possibly exceed the bravery and coolness with which, on every tack, Captain Griffith received the fire of these three ships, and returned his own. His ship was worked with great exactness, and on every board, gained considerably on the enemy. The other Captains shewed an equal keenness to get into action: and towards sunset, the *Albion* had got well up to second the *Conqueror*, and the other ships were also engaged. But as they had worked, not only within danger of the shoals in the bay, but within reach of the batteries, from which the enemy poured into them a profusion of shells and shot, Admiral Parker was under a necessity of calling them off by night signal, about a quarter before seven. The last broadside fired by the enemy, unfortunately killed Captain Griffith of the *Conqueror*; by which his country lost a brave and excellent officer. Three men were also killed in this ship. Of the convoy, besides those destroyed, nine sail were taken.

As the Rear-Admiral was returning with part of his squadron

* M. de la Mothe Piquet in the *Hannibal* of seventy-four, with the *Vengeur* and *Refléché* of sixty-four guns.

dron to St. Lucia, late in the evening on the 20th of December, he received a letter from Brigadier-General Sir Henry Calder, informing him, that three large ships had been seen that afternoon, from the high ground of that island, steering to the northward, and that they were supposed to be part of the French fleet from Grenada. He immediately detached Rear-Admiral Rowley in the Suffolk, with the Vengeance, Magnificent, and Stirling Castle, in pursuit of them. At eight o'clock next morning, three sail being discerned from the mast-head of the Suffolk, the Rear-Admiral made the signal for a general chase. It was obeyed with the greatest alacrity: and when they came up with them on the following morning, the chase hoisted French colours, fired a few shot, and stood on. The Magnificent soon came up with the sternmost ship, and fired some guns at her, when she struck. She proved to be *La Blanche*, of thirty-six guns and two hundred and twelve men, commanded by M. Galissoniere. The Suffolk, in a short time, overtook and captured another of them: which proved to be *La Fortunée*, of forty-two guns and two hundred and forty-seven men, commanded by the Chevalier de Marigny. The Vengeance taking charge of the *Blanche*, the Magnificent and Stirling Castle continued the chase after the third sail: and coming up with her on the morning of the 23d, she struck, and proved to be the *Ellis*, of twenty-eight guns and sixty-eight men, commanded by M. Fontenaux. The *Blanche* and *La Fortunée* were purchased into the service, and added to the Royal Navy. These three ships were a part of the Comte d'Estaing's fleet, which he sent back from Savannah, when he failed for Europe.

The cruising ships on this station picked up a great many valuable prizes, and several of the enemy's privateers. The *Venus* took the Governor Turnbull rebel privateer, of twenty guns and one hundred and fifty men, after an hour's engagement. The *Pomona* took the Cumberland, (late the Rover sloop) rebel privateer, of twenty guns. The *Proserpine* retook, after a smart action, his Majesty's ship *Sphinx* of twenty guns,

guns, which the French had taken a short time before. The Boreas, Captain Thompson, took, after a smart action of twenty minutes, in which she had four men killed and five wounded, a French flute, laden with sugar, and called Le Compas, of twenty guns and one hundred and forty men, from Martinico. These were the principal transactions in this part of the West Indies : for notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority of naval strength, the losses sustained in this department were but small. They consisted of the Sphynx frigate, which was soon after retaken, the Ceres sloop, and some armed vessels.

While the trading ships were assembling at the island of St. Christophers, in order to be escorted by Admiral Byron and his squadron a part of the way to Europe, they were in great danger of being burnt by the Supply armed storeship, a large vessel of twenty-six guns, which accidentally took fire, while she lay at anchor in the middle of the fleet. Most of the ships that lay nearest her slipped their cables, and stood out to sea. Aid came immediately to her, from almost all the King's ships ; but the flames had got to too great a height to be extinguished. Some of the people on board cut her cables, and she drove with the wind. She was then all in flames, and the greatest danger was to be apprehended from her blowing up ; but the happy presence of mind of a Lieutenant of the navy,* who was sent to her assistance, with a party of seamen from some of the ships, and was among the first who got to her, saved her from destruction. He gave directions, that all her guns that were loaded should be pointed upwards and then fired off ; ordered most of the people on board into the boats ; took the helm himself, and steered her, almost all in a blaze, through the fleet. When he could bear the heat no longer, he fastened the helm as well as he could ; and, with the few whom he allowed to remain with him, escaped by letting themselves down into a boat which was astern. The vessel grounded on a point of land, after she had passed the town of Basseterre and

* We regret that we have not his name.

got clear of the ships, and soon blew up with a dreadful explosion, but without doing any mischief. Some of the principal inhabitants of several of the islands, who were returning to England on account of the war, had put on board of this unfortunate ship a great quantity of valuable effects, which unhappily shared in her fate.

WEST INDIES.—JAMAICA STATION.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR PETER PARKER commanded his Majesty's fleet on this station: and considering the smallness of the number of ships of which it consisted, he greatly distressed the enemy.* Having received information, that the annual register ships from Spain were either arrived, or daily expected at Omoa, he detached from Port Royal in Jamaica, on the 8th of September, the Hon. John Luttrell in the *Charon*, having under his command the *Lowestoffe* and *Pomona* frigates, and *Racehorse* schooner, in hopes that he would be able to take them while at anchor there, or to intercept them when they left that port.

Owing to unfavourable winds and calms, it was the 15th before this little squadron reached the Spanish main; and on the next day they arrived at the island of Rattan. The Commodore was apprehensive, that if he should lead all his squadron toward George's Key, the register ships might pass to windward or along their own shore; and elude him. He therefore ordered Captain Nugent of the *Pomona*, who was well acquainted at that place, to go first to Key Boquel in his own ship, taking with him the *Racehorse* schooner; then, leaving his own ship, to proceed in the schooner to George's Key, and there to procure, as expeditiously as possible, the most skilful pilots for Omoa and the Gulf of Dulce. Having attained this object, he was directed to rejoin his ship at Key Boquel, and then to repair to Glover's reef, and join the Commodore with the squadron. Captain Nugent proceeded agreeably

* See Note 129.

ably to his orders, and arrived at George's Key on the evening of the 19th. Having got into his boat, he was rowing towards the shore; when, to his utmost astonishment, before he could land, the boat was attacked by a number of batteaux full of Spaniards, who took possession of her, when, owing to three shot which had pierced her, she was on the point of sinking. Happily, in this scuffle, no person was hurt. To explain this mystery, it is necessary to inform the reader, that on the 15th, about six hundred Spaniards, in a number of armed pettiguas, had made themselves masters of the place. Captain Nugent and his boat's crew were made prisoners: and when brought on shore, a parade was made for their execution, and a scaffold and a guard of soldiers were got ready; for it was understood to be the orders, with which the Spaniards came to attack the settlement, that every person who was conquered, and had made resistance, should be put to death. But when, upon inquiry, the enemy found that neither the Captain or his people had arms, and that they had made no resistance, they contented themselves with blindfolding, stripping, handcuffing, and confining him, along with his boat's crew, in a close prison.

While Captain Nugent was undergoing this treatment, a great number of Spaniards, in batteaux, attacked the Racehorse schooner; but Lieutenant Trott, who commanded her, having been alarmed by the firing at the boat, was on his guard: and he, with his officers and crew, gave them so warm and unexpected a reception, that they were forced to retreat, after sustaining very considerable loss. On board the schooner, only two men were killed and three wounded. As soon as the Spaniards were beat off, Lieutenant Trott weighed anchor and repaired to Key Boquel, in order to bring up the Pomona frigate to George's Key. When the King's ship appeared, the Spaniards, to the number of five hundred, took to their craft, and abandoned the Key with the greatest precipitation, leaving Captain Nugent, his people, and the inhabitants, in close confinement, from which they released themselves. Captain Nu-
gent

gent took the proper measures to collect the dispersed inhabitants, and to secure their effects. Having left them instructions how to conduct themselves, he proceeded to rejoin the Commodore at Glover's reef, where the squadron arrived on the 19th. On the 20th, intelligence was brought them, of George's Key being in possession of the Spaniards. The Commodore had passed some hours in great uneasiness concerning Captain Nugent's fate; but was relieved from his anxiety, by the appearance of the Pomona and schooner, with the pilots on board. He immediately sailed with the squadron for the Gulf of Dulce, and arrived there in the evening of the 22d; but found no vessels in it. Attended by Captains Parker and Nugent, with the marines of the squadron and a party of seamen in the boats, he therefore pushed up the river, and landed at the Spanish warehouses before twelve o'clock at night. These he found totally abandoned, every thing having been carried away from them, except the remains of a few provisions, which seemed to indicate, that the people had not been long gone. On the 23d, in the morning, he reinforced the crew of the Racehorse schooner, and directed Lieutenant Trott to make the best of his way to Omoa, to reconnoitre the strength of the place, and to look for the ships that had sailed from Dulce; which he supposed would be found in that port. Next morning, the Commodore was joined at sea by the Racehorse schooner, and informed by her Commander, that the three ships were at anchor under the fort; that two of them were ready for sea; that the other had her yards and topmasts struck; and that the fortifications did not appear to be of any great strength. This intelligence gave great joy to the whole squadron, which sailed directly for Omoa, and arrived off that port about twelve o'clock at night. The Commodore used his best endeavours to persuade the pilots to carry in his ships immediately; but they all refused to comply with his request until day-light. Their obstinacy was very fortunate for the squadron; for at day-break, when it approached nearer to the shore, it was perceived, that the fortification had by much

too formidable an aspect, to admit of an attempt to force it, with any reasonable prospect of success. Nor would the reduction of it have been of any avail; for the register ships had all their topmasts and yards struck, and were lying up a creek, where neither the ships nor boats could have got at them, even if they had succeeded in silencing forty pieces of cannon, which presented themselves to view, on the fort and batteries.

Thus disappointed of obtaining possession of the register ships at Omoa, the Commodore resolved to endeavour to intercept them off Cape Antonio. This was indeed the only hope that now remained of accomplishing that design, before the time allotted for his cruise should expire. To procure a supply of water, he determined to stop for a few days in the Bay of Truxillo; where he likewise expected to obtain more ample accounts of the state of the British inhabitants in the Bay of Honduras, than he yet possessed. For these purposes, as soon as the squadron sailed from Omoa, he sent the Racehorse schooner to the river Belez, with orders afterwards to repair to George's Key, to put ashore there, in compliance with their own desire, the people who had served him as pilots; to make all possible inquiries concerning the state of the British settlers; and then to rejoin him in the Bay of Truxillo. Having returned there on the 4th of October, her Commander, Lieutenant Trott, reported, that an armed brig, sent by Captain Nugent when at George's Key, had nearly collected all the settlers in the Bay; that seventy of them were on board the brig, and more than two hundred under her escort in small craft; and that he had ordered them to Truxillo, in their way to Black river. As they did not appear while the squadron was in that bay, the Commodore ordered the Racehorse to remain there; and left instructions with Lieutenant Trott, that, if they should arrive while he was taking in water, he should give every assistance in his power, toward forwarding the brig with the Baymen to Black river, on the Musquito shore. He also learned, with great concern, that the pilots carried by the Racehorse to George's Key, finding no King's vessel

vessel there, or security for their persons, had left it : and that the inhabitants of all the British settlements in the Bay were abandoning their property, not thinking it tenable against the superior numbers of the Spaniards ; and were removing as fast as possible, some to Jamaica, but the greatest part of them to Black river, on the Musquito shore. The Squadron sailed from Truxillo bay on the 4th of October ; and on the 7th, had the good fortune to fall in with his Majesty's sloop Porcupine. She had under her convoy, a detachment of the Loyal Irish Corps, and some Musquito Indians, and spare arms, under the command of Captain Commandant Dalrymple, who had been sent by Governor Dalling of Jamaica, to protect the settlers in the Bay of Honduras. The Captain immediately waited on the Commodore, and, after receiving from him an account of the disagreeable situation of the Baymen, proposed to join him in making an attack by sea and land on the garrison of Omoa, and on the Spanish galleons at that place ; on condition, that the marines and musquetry-men of the Squadron should be landed, to assist at the operations of the siege. In this proposal, the Commodore acquiesced.

Having thus fixed their design, steps were immediately taken, to render the expedition as formidable as possible. The Commodore returned with the troops to Truxillo bay : the Lowestoffe and Pomona were detached to Bonacea and Uilla, in quest of the vessels with the Baymen, and to secure the services of the people who had been driven from George's Key ; and the Racehorse was sent to the island of Rattan on the same service. They all returned with expedition and success, bringing a reinforcement of two hundred and fifty men. These people, naturally fond of adventure, and habituated to danger, gladly embraced this opportunity of being revenged on the Spaniards, at whose expence they also hoped to enrich themselves. Captain Dalrymple armed them, and divided them into companies ; allotting to such as were slaves, their proprietors as officers. No time was lost in making scaling-ladders, fascines, sand-bags, and every requisite thing in their power, which

which they judged necessary for carrying on the siege. The plan of attack being settled, the Squadron, consisting of the *Charon*, *Lowestoffe*, *Pomona*, *Porcupine*, *Racehorse*, three schooners, and a number of small craft, sailed in the morning of the 10th of October for Porto Cavallo bay, arrived there next day, and anchored close inshore. In the evening of the 16th, the troops were landed in excellent order, under the direction of Captain Pakenham of the *Porcupine*, and began to march from the beach before eleven o'clock at night. As the guides had informed Captain Dalrymple, that Port Omoa was only three leagues distant, it was designed that the troops should march directly forward, in the night, to surprise and escalade the fort. The distance, however, proved greater than they had been led to suppose : and the roads were so extremely bad, that no European troops ever encountered such a march. By impenetrable thickets of mangroves intercepting their way, they were obliged sometimes to go out into the sea, which damaged the cartouches ; and at other times to pass through lagoons, morasses, and narrow foot-paths, over mountains having precipices on each side, and rendered almost impassable by recent rains. Through all these intricacies, they were forced to grope their way, guided only by lights made from cabbage trees. At day-break, the troops were still two leagues from the fort. By the numberless obstacles that occurred, the line of march was broken ; the rear fell far behind ; some had dropped down with fatigue ; and others, in the darkness of the night, had lost their way, through paths passable only by Indians. In the morning, the rear was brought up by Captain Cardan of the 60th regiment. Captain Dalrymple then ordered the whole to halt for two hours, to refresh the men. When the march was resumed, the troops again encountered passes and defiles, similar to those which had obstructed their progress in the preceding night : the Indians kept skirmishing with some of the enemy's parties as they went along ; and two lookouts or small posts were taken, from which some of the enemy's soldiers made their escape, and carried intelligence to the Governor,

vernor, that an enemy was advancing. As the Spaniards had last night seen the squadron and Musquito craft, and did not think that Europeans would undertake such a march, they conjectured, that Indians from the small vessels were the only enemy landed. To favour this deception, the Indians were advanced to the front, and dislodged them from their lookouts; which prevented them from occupying the defiles and passes, until the troops arrived near the town, where they had placed an ambuscade. The Indians, naturally very acute as scouts, perceived them, and represented that the Spaniards were drawn up in great force. Captain Dalrymple immediately made a disposition of his troops to defeat and cut them off. For this purpose he advanced rapidly, and, on his approach, received from fifty or sixty Spaniards, a scattered fire, which killed one man and wounded another. The enemy then fled with the greatest precipitation to the fort, woods, and town, evacuating the Governor's house, which was built with battlements, terraced on the top, and extremely capable of defence. From the heights on its environs, of which the troops had gained possession, there was a full view of the fort, about half a mile distant from the town, at the bottom of the hills. As the enemy kept firing from the town, the Captain, much contrary to his inclinations, was obliged to give orders to set it on fire. When this order was executed, the inhabitants fled to the fort or to the woods; and the property consumed in it was estimated at 100,000 piastras. While the town was in flames, the squadron came into the bay; and supposing this a proper time to batter the fort, went in abreast of it. The land-forces did what they could to second their efforts: but unfortunately, the scaling ladders were carried by the Honduras fusileers, whose eagerness to engage in skirmishing had induced them to drop them, and to hasten to get to the head of the column. This prevented the military from being able to co-operate with the squadron, with the desired effect.

The Commodore had hopes, that the breeze which brought the squadron into the port, would have carried the ships close

to the fort and batteries ; and accordingly, made the signal for the *Lowestoffe* to lead to action. This was obeyed by Captain Parker with the utmost alacrity. As soon as they opened the eastern point, the enemy began to fire on the *Lowestoffe*, *Charon*, *Pomona*, and *Porcupine* ; but no shot were returned until the enemy's guns had so lulled the wind, as to leave but little prospect of his being able to bring the ships close enough to engage with effect. With a view rather to cover them from the enemy's aim by smoke, than with any hope of success from a distant cannonade, the *Lowestoffe* and *Charon* began to fire ; but the *Pomona* was not able to get near enough to make her guns bear on the fort. As soon as it was in his power, the Commodore laid his ship's head to the offing : and a breeze springing up to the northward, he made the signal to tack, in hopes of being able to fetch the ground on which he wished to anchor the squadron ; but was disappointed by its becoming calm. The *Lowestoffe* run ashore, and received a heavy fire from the enemy. Luckily she paid off again : but before the boats of the fleet could get to her assistance, her hull, masts, and yards, were so much disabled, as to render it necessary to anchor her to leeward, and there refit her. The *Charon's* rudder was choked by a shot, which filled the space between it and the stern-post with splinters, part of her wheel was shot away, and her mizen-mast badly wounded.

On the 18th, at the request of Captain Dalrymple, the Commodore ordered the *Porcupine's* guns to be landed, and to be placed on batteries which he had erected against the fort, on the high ground near the Governor's house. The sailors dragged them up the hill, through a steep and bad road, with great cheerfulness, and they were fired with all the effect that could be expected. The enemy increased their fire to the land side, and disabled some of the guns on the batteries ; by which they convinced both the Commodore and Captain Dalrymple, that, with so light metal as they had, the reduction of the fort by the ordinary method of attack, would be tedious, if not impracticable. To make regular approaches
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and effect a breach, a very large train of battering cannon would be necessary : in the progress of these operations a great length of time would be wasted, and in the end, they might be obliged to attempt the place by escalade. They had also an enemy in their rear, daily increasing in numbers ; and found that the ditch round the fort was dry. Having duly considered all these circumstances, they determined to storm the place, as soon as every thing could be properly concerted. The mode of attack was settled : the Pomona frigate was to be towed close in during the night of the 19th, the other ships were also to co-operate ; and the assault was to be made early on the morning of the 20th. Captain Dalrymple made the following disposition of the forces under his command : the Europeans were formed into four columns in line ; four men advanced with guides at the head of each column : in each column these were followed by eight men carrying the ladders, and these by a few hand-grenade men. Two columns consisted of seamen, and two of marines, with a few Loyal Irish ; and the whole amounted to about one hundred and fifty men. Every thing being in readiness, about three in the morning, they moved down the hill, and there halted for the signal from the Charon, which was to denote that she was under way, and would attack in twenty minutes. A little after four o'clock the signal was made, the columns advanced under the fire of their own battery, and were encouraged to proceed, by observing that the Spaniards did not perceive their march, as they fired their shot over them, aiming at the batteries on the hills.

The fire from the squadron attracted the attention of the garrison to that side, which proved of the greatest utility. The troops advanced in profound silence, arms trailed : and in order to animate them, the parole was changed to *bayonet*, and the countersign was *Britons strike home*. They continued to advance undiscovered, until they reached the Spanish centries, who were every two or three minutes passing the word, *alerto*. At the entrance into the ditch were two guns, pointed from the flank of the bastion to scour it. The enemy's centries gave the

alarm, and their drum beat to arms. The columns were staggered and recoiled a little; but instantly recovering themselves, advanced with spirit to the foot of the wall, which was twenty-eight feet high, and on which was a battery of five guns. They reared one ladder, a second, and a third. The first ladder was broke by the flank guns of another bastion, which also killed a midshipman, and badly wounded five men. The other ladders were also injured, but not broke. Two seamen got up first by one ladder, and obeyed their orders by not firing. They levelled their muskets at a body drawn up to oppose them, consisting of sixty Spaniards, who seemed petrified with fear; and kept them in awe for some minutes, although their officers were at their head encouraging them to fight.

The seamen scrambling up the ladders, now formed a pretty strong band; and impatient to attack the enemy, leaped down from the parapets with a spirit and impetuosity not to be described. On their being reinforced by the marines and Loyal Irish, the Spaniards fled to the casements, but they could not recover their panic, notwithstanding every exertion of their officers; and about one hundred of them escaped over the walls, and out of a sally port. The Governor and principal officers then came and delivered up to Captain Dalrymple their swords, the garrison and register ships, with the keys of the fort, and asked their lives. The garrison that remained in the fort and submitted, including officers and priests, amounted to three hundred and seventy-four. Eleven Spaniards were found wounded, two of whom died soon after. The enemy would not confess the number they had killed; but it was conjectured to exceed thirty. Captain Dalrymple was highly pleased with the valour and activity shewn by the officers and men of both services, that were under his command; and particularly mentions Lieutenant Dundas of the navy, who was the fourth, and Mr. Concannon, a midshipman, who was the third, who escalated the walls: also, Lieutenant Wightman of the marines, who acted as his aid-de-camp, and was wounded the evening of the 19th, when reconnoitring the ditch. He sent home his dispatches

patches by Lieutenant Cardan of the 60th regiment, who, by his appointment, had acted as Captain of artillery and engineer in this expedition, and rendered very important services.

By the Convention, into which the Spanish Governor entered with the Commanders of his Majesty's sea and land-forces,* a stipulation was made to exchange the garrison of Omoa, for the Baymen who were inhumanly carried away with their families to Merida: and for the performance of this article, two priests and the Lieutenant-Governor were detained as hostages. The Spaniards were also obliged, by this treaty, to exchange two Musquito Indians, one of whom had been forced to live at Carthagena for many years, with irons on his limbs; and, after the inhuman labours of the day, was committed to a dungeon every evening. By this conquest, several unfortunate Englishmen were likewise released, who had been confined here, and made to work as slaves.

The Governor and garrison were released for the present, as prisoners of war on their parole of honour; but bound to return, and surrender themselves at a time specified, if the conditions of their enlargement were not complied with. This was perhaps the more necessary, as it was well known, that the Spaniards had a most inveterate hatred against the Baymen and the Musquito Indians. As a farther security, the church plate and religious ornaments, for which all ransom had been refused, were retained as a deposit, to be returned freely as a present along with the hostages, upon the due performance of the several articles of the Convention. This surely was the very best expedient that could be devised, for compelling a bigoted Spaniard to perform a promise made to heretics.†

The treasure that had been in the castle was removed to a place of safety, with the utmost dispatch, as soon as the enemy heard of the approach of the British forces; but that on board the galleons, with the cargoes of the other vessels in the harbour, and the value of the ships themselves captured on this

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occasion

* See Note 130.

† What a pity but our countrymen, when they took Manila by storm in 1762, had been as wise.

occasion, amounted, by estimate, to three millions of piastres or pieces of eight.

The Spanish Governor, apprehensive that it was the intention of the British to demolish the fortifications here, as they had, in the former war, done those at Porto Bello, was very solicitous to ransom the fort, which had cost the Crown of Spain an incredible sum of money, and even offered three hundred thousand dollars for it. The two galleons, or register ships, proved prizes of immense value to the captors, and an irreparable loss to the enemy, as they had on board two hundred and fifty quintals of quicksilver, newly arrived from Old Spain; a commodity so essential to the purification of their gold and silver, and to the separation of these precious metals from other bodies, with which they are combined in their ores, that without a constant supply of it, their mines are of no value. The Spaniards would have given double its real value for it; but, for the reasons already assigned, the British Commanders resolved neither to part with it, nor listen to any terms for ransoming the fort. Thus, like true patriots, did they prefer the public good to their private emolument: but their noble and disinterested views were soon frustrated in respect of the fort, by the enemy, who recovered it, not so much by any vigorous exertions on their part, as owing to the unhealthiness of the place. This conquest did great honour to the handful of men who accomplished it. Their humanity was as conspicuous as their bravery: nor could there be a greater contrast, than between the treatment received by the subjects of the British King at George's Key, who surrendered at discretion, and that of the Spanish garrison at Omoa, though taken by storm. When the troops marched on to the assault, Captain Dalrymple's orders were—"not to spare any who resisted, but "to give quarter to all who asked it:" and these orders were punctually obeyed. Only two persons who resisted were wounded by the bayonet, and none were pillaged. Even the people from the Musquito shore, and those of Honduras, who had experienced the most cruel treatment from the Spaniards, cheerfully

cheerfully complied with the public orders. Proper respect was shewn to the Spanish Governor, the officers, soldiers, and inhabitants; and neither cloaths, watches, pocket-money, nor any other effects, were taken from any of the prisoners.

The greatest acts of mere courage are so common to British seamen, that a particular account of any one of them, may, to many readers, seem superfluous: but the following instance of magnanimity, is at once so singular in its circumstances, and so truly characteristic of the peculiar manners, ideas, and generous heroism of that invaluable order of men, as to render it surely worthy of notice. It would indeed be an act of injustice to the public, not to rescue from oblivion, a tale, which must strike foreign nations with astonishment, while it reflects the highest honour on the seamen of Britain. A common sailor, who had scaled the walls of the fort at Omoa, had, that he might the more successfully annoy the enemy, armed himself with a cutlass in each hand. Thus equipped, he met a Spanish officer, newly roused from his sleep; who, in his hurry and confusion, had forgotten to take his sword. This circumstance immediately attracted the notice of the British tar, and restrained his fury. Unwilling to relinquish so glorious an opportunity of displaying his courage in single combat, and disdaining to attack an unarmed foe, he presented one of the cutlasses to him, and thus addressed him: "*I scorn to take any advantage; you are now upon a footing with me.*" The astonishment of the Spaniard at such an act of generosity, and at the ease with which such a parley took place, when the uncouth and formidable appearance of his foe led him to form no expectation, but that of being instantly and without mercy cut to pieces, could be rivalled only by the admiration which his recital of the story excited in his countrymen.

The Commodore was highly pleased with the conduct and behaviour of the Captains, officers, and seamen, under his command. He mentioned, in his dispatches, the important services performed by Captains Nugent and Pakenham, and Lieutenant Trott; and sent them home by Captain Pakenham,

who had a most gracious reception from his Majesty. Perhaps there never was a conjunct expedition, in which it was less needful to mention particular names, than in that against Omoa. The conduct of the Commanders, and of all the subordinate officers in both departments, was in all respects exemplary, whether our attention be turned to their military operations, or to the harmony which pervaded the whole. To this indeed must the success, which attended the expedition, be chiefly attributed.

Before Commodore Luttrell quitted this part of the American coast, he settled some of the dispersed Baymen on the Musquito shore; but most of them he carried with him to the island of Rattan, where he formed a settlement, having fortified the place in the best manner that circumstances would admit. He then returned with the squadron, prizes, and troops, to Jamaica; leaving the Porcupine sloop to assist the garrison, which Captain Dalrymple left at Omoa.

The climate, in which the fort of St. Ferdinand de Omoa is situated, is extremely unfavourable to strangers: and so it proved to the British garrison, and to the crew of his Majesty's sloop Porcupine, whose numbers were greatly diminished by a pestilential disorder which raged among them. To augment their distresses, a considerable body of Spaniards invested the place on the 25th of November. The officers, on consulting together, found that they had not strength to stand a siege. They therefore resolved to abandon the fort, which they did on the 28th; after having spiked up the guns, and embarked the ammunition and stores.

The Ruby was commanded by Captain Michael John Everitt, as Captain Deane was so much indisposed, that he was unable to take charge of her, and died soon after. This vessel, accompanied by the *Æolus* and Jamaica sloop, being on cruize off the island of Gonave, in the Bite of Leogane, about one in the morning of the 2d of June, fell in with a large sail, to which they immediately gave chase. The Ruby getting within point blank shot of her, between seven and eight o'clock, she

she struck; and proved to be *La Prudente*, French ship of war, of thirty-six guns, (twelve pounders) and three hundred and fourteen men, commanded by the Viscount d'Escars. The enemy kept firing their stern chaces, as the King's ships approached, by which Captain Everitt and one seaman of the *Ruby* were unfortunately killed. In Captain Everitt, his Majesty lost a most excellent officer; and his death was universally lamented by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. *La Prudente* was purchased into the service, and added to the Royal Navy, without changing her name. The *Penelope* took a Spanish guarda costa of ten guns and seventy-five men. She was called the *Hermosa Mariana*.

His Majesty's ship *Salisbury* of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Charles Inglis, being off Porto de Sall, in the Bay of Honduras, at day-break on the 12th of December, got sight of a large sail, and gave chase to her, it being then light breezes. At six in the evening the chase hoisted Spanish colours. At half past six, the two ships got so near as to exchange some shot; and they continued closing, with constant firing on both sides, until past eight o'clock, when the enemy's main-mast went overboard, and they surrendered: her mizen-mast also went during the night. She proved to be the *Saint Carlos* of fifty guns, viz. thirty-eight twelve pounders, sixteen of which were brads, twelve six pounders, and three hundred and ninety-seven men, a private Spanish ship of war, commanded by Don Juan Antonio Zavelletta, from Cadiz bound to Port Omoa, and having on board twelve twenty-four pounders brads cannon, a quantity of shot and shells, five thousand stand of arms, &c.

On board the *Salisbury*, four men were killed in the action, and fourteen wounded. Among the latter was Mr. Millar, the Master. Five of the wounded died soon after the engagement. The sails and rigging of both ships were much damaged, Captain Inglis gave the command of the prize to his Lieutenant, Mr. Thomas Haynes, with whose conduct, and indeed with that of all the rest of his officers and men, he was highly pleased.

On

On the 19th of June, while at anchor in Port Royal harbour, a fire unfortunately broke out on board of his Majesty's ship the Glasgow. It was occasioned by the carelessness of the steward, in going down to the hold, with a lighted candle in his hand, to draw rum : and although every effort was used by Captain Lloyd, his officers and crew, to save the ship, she was entirely consumed. When the Captain saw that there was no possibility of preserving her, he ordered the powder to be thrown overboard ; and to this happy presence of mind, the shipping in the harbour, and the town of Kingston, owed their preservation. No lives were lost except that of the Master, who was snatched out of the flames miserably scorched, and died the next morning.

NORTH AMERICA.

His Majesty's army, employed in this part of the world, continued under the command of General Sir Henry Clinton, and was of very great force : for although, towards the close of last year, a very considerable detachment had been sent from it to the West Indies, under the command of Major-General James Grant ; and the Waldeck auxiliary troops had been detached to the succour of the province of West Florida, under the command of Major-General John Campbell, so many provincial corps had been raised during the winter, that if all of them had been complete, it would have been rather increased than diminished in point of strength.*

As soon as the season would permit, Rear-Admiral Gambier, in the Ardent of sixty-four guns, accompanied by some frigates, returned to England. The command of the naval department then devolved on Captain Sir George Collier, until the arrival of Rear-Admiral Arbuthnot.†

The campaign in America, opened this year, in the province of Georgia ; and, as it lies far to the southward, the troops were enabled to commence their operations in the end of the month

* See Note 131.

† See Note 132.

month of February. Major-General Prevost commanded the land-forces : and, as Captain Hyde Parker, of his Majesty's ship *Phoenix*, was ordered on other service, by Rear-Admiral Gambier, the command of the naval department devolved on Captain John Henry of the *Fowey*.

The Congress, finding them not only troublesome, but formidable, had shewed great earnestness to obtain a superiority over his Majesty's land-forces in Georgia : for until this should be accomplished, they were in continual apprehensions for the safety of Charlestown ; and dreaded, that the fall of that town would be followed by the greatest part of the province of South Carolina. For this purpose, they ordered a considerable force to march to the southward, and sent Major-General Lincoln, (one of their best officers) to assume the command there.

Major-General Prevost, on account of the smallness of his military force, and the great extent of territory which he occupied, found it necessary to abandon Augusta, and all his posts above Hudson's ferry, which is twenty miles above the town of Savannah, lest the enemy, by their superior numbers, should be enabled to cut off some of them. Mr. Lincoln, as his army increased, drew nearer to the British outposts, and established a considerable force, under the command of a Brigadier-General Ashe, in a strong position on Briar creek, only thirteen miles above Hudson's ferry. This post was found to be so extremely inconvenient to the British army, by cutting off in a great measure, all the supplies which it was accustomed to draw from the upper part of the country, that General Prevost determined, if possible, to remove it, and took his measures accordingly. The principal attack was to be made on the enemy's front, by a detachment of troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost : but that they might at the same time be attacked in the rear, Sir James Baird, with three companies of grenadiers, was ordered to take a circuit of at least fifty miles ; then to cross the creek above them, turn their flank, and get round and take post behind their rear. General Prevost, in the mean time, made some movements with the army, with
a view

a view of attracting General Lincoln's attention. The whole design succeeded to his wish. On the 3d of March, their post at Briar creek was attacked, and in some measure surprised. They were quickly routed and dispersed: seven pieces of cannon, several stand of colours, and almost all their arms, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The loss which the enemy sustained in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was very considerable. About one hundred and fifty were found dead on the field of battle, and in the adjoining woods and swamps; but their chief loss consisted in the number of officers and men, who, in their flight, plunged themselves into the river and were drowned. Brigadier-General Elbert, second in command, one of their best officers, twenty-six other officers, and about two hundred men were made prisoners. The loss sustained by the King's forces, in this action, was only five private men killed, and one officer and ten private men wounded.

The enemy's numbers at Briar creek considerably exceeded two thousand; while the different detachments, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, amounted only to nine hundred effective men:* but never did troops shew greater intrepidity, or better discipline, than his Majesty's did in this unequal combat.

The consequences of this defeat were soon obvious. The enemy for a while kept a respectful distance; the communication with the upper country was again opened; and a great number of the deluded inhabitants submitted, came in to Savannah,

* State of the force under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, when he attacked the rebel post at Briar Creek, March 3d, 1779:

Three grenadier companies of the 60th regiment,	- - -	200
One company of light-infantry of the 71st regiment, commanded by		
Sir James Baird,	- - - - -	100
The 2d battalion of the 71st regiment,	- - - - -	350
Captain Tawse's troop of light dragoons,	- - - - -	50
Artillerymen, Provincials, Rangers, and Militia, in all about	-	200
Total,	- - -	900

Savannah, and took the oath to be faithful to his Majesty.

General Lincoln, being soon after joined by strong reinforcements of continental, and also by large bodies of provincial troops and militia from the Carolinas, he thought that he had now sufficient strength to carry a point, which he had long desired to attain. It had been his wish to march into the upper part of the province of Georgia; and there to establish a post of such strength, as would effectually cut off all supplies being sent, by means of the river Savannah, to the King's troops and Loyal Americans in the lower part of that province, while it would circumscribe the royal army within narrow bounds, and prevent its being joined by any friends, or Indians from the back settlements. Having left detachments at Black Swamp and Puryburg, under General Moultrie, he accordingly crossed the river Savannah on the 23d of April, and marched up its southern bank, with a very considerable force.

Major-General Prevost was not inattentive to the enemy's motions, and resolved to profit, if possible, by General Lincoln's absence. By making a sudden irruption into South Carolina, and reaching Charlestown before any succours could be thrown into that place, he hoped to make himself master of it by a *coup de main*. Even if he should fail in that attempt, he might collect a great quantity of provisions, of which his army stood much in need, convey them to Savannah, and make good his retreat to that place, by means of the galleys and other armed small craft, in which he might return by the islands and various inlets, which were always open to him. Accordingly, on the 29th of April, when he supposed, that General Lincoln and his army had got to a convenient distance, he crossed the Savannah, with near three thousand of his best troops and some Indians, and made a forced march, in hopes of surprising Brigadier-General Moultrie and the corps under his command, posted at Black Swamp: but the country being alarmed, the rebels had got notice of the approach of the British troops, and quitted the ground, three hours before they reached it. Mr. Moultrie immediately penetrated into General Prevost's

Prevost's designs, and did all that lay in his power to frustrate them. He sent an express to General Lincoln, informing him of what had happened, and pressing him, either to return with his army, or to detach such a strong reinforcement as would prevent Charlestown from falling into the hands of the British. He then marched off with the corps under his command, formed a junction with one under Colonel McIntosh, and both retreated with the greatest expedition towards Charlestown, taking care to impede the motions of General Prevost, by breaking down, as soon as they had passed it, every bridge that lay in their route. The news of General Prevost's invasion of South Carolina was so little expected by General Lincoln, that he could not, for some time, believe that any thing serious was intended against Charlestown. He supposed, that a strong foraging party had been, by mistake, considered as an invading army, and therefore sent a reinforcement of only five hundred men to General Moultrie, to drive them out of the province. By the arrival of repeated advices, he was at last convinced, that it was absolutely necessary to direct his whole strength that way, and by forced marches to endeavour to save the place. In the mean time, Governor Rutledge and General Moultrie exerted themselves to the utmost, in fortifying Charlestown on the land side, in the best manner they could. By their orders, all the houses in the suburbs were burnt; in the space of a few days lines and abbatis were thrown up from Ashley to Cooper rivers, and cannon mounted on them at proper intervals: a large body of militia was ordered into the town, and the principal disloyal inhabitants gave all the aid in their power, towards the defence of the place. General Prevost was obliged to struggle with very considerable difficulties. These consisted, more in the fatigue and trouble of laying bridges across rivers and creeks, and in passing swamps, than in any opposition from the enemy's troops, who always fled at his approach, and retreated towards Charlestown. If he had been so fortunate as to have arrived there, before these succours were thrown into the place, and such pains taken to fortify it, in all probability

bability it would have surrendered to him on the first summons. By the 10th of May, he got within a short distance of the place, and sent a flag of truce, requiring the Governor to deliver up the town, and the garrison to become prisoners of war. The garrison consisted, at this time, of no less than three thousand three hundred men; so that it was at least a third stronger than the force which General Prevost led against it. The troops in it were indeed mostly militia, and little accustomed to military operations. Either they, from aversion to hazard their lives, if the place should be stormed; or the merchants, from the fear of losing the immense property which they had in the town, prevailed on the Governor, in his civil capacity, to propose to General Prevost—"That South Carolina should remain in a state of neutrality till the close of the war, and then follow the fate of its neighbours, on condition that the royal army should withdraw." This proposal appears to be extremely jesuitical. It would seem to be intended, either to enable the South Carolinians to get rid of the authority of Congress, and under the pretence of such a convention, to avoid contributing their quota of expence for carrying on the war; or to deceive General Prevost, until, by procrastination, they had brought him into a very disagreeable dilemma. They well knew, that having neither strength of numbers, mortars, battering cannon, nor a naval force capable of making any impression, he was not in a condition to lay siege to the town: and they had certain information, that General Lincoln, with his whole force, was straining every nerve to come to its relief, and could not be far off. They were therefore not without hopes, that before the terms of the negotiation could be finally adjusted, he might be placed between two fires. The General, by rejecting the proposal of a neutrality, happily escaped the snare, which had been so artfully laid for his destruction. Having previously ordered the gallies, armed vessels, and small craft, to meet him, he retired to the south side of Ashley river, and from thence to James's island, St. John's island, and the other islands, which form the south side of Charlestown harbour.

harbour. When the Vigilant and armed vessels sailed from the town of Savannah, they went through Callibogie sound and Scull creek, into Broad river : and on their approach, the rebels burnt Fort Lyttelton in Port Royal, and abandoned another fort on St. Helena, leaving it entire. The guns were taken out of these forts, lest they should again fall into the hands of the enemy. While the King's troops were on the islands near Charlestown, they were joined by two frigates, escorting a fleet of victuallers from New York, which proved a most seasonable relief to them.

General Prevost's operations, from that time to the 10th of June, consisted in removing his troops from one island to another, and in establishing the different posts intended to be occupied, during the approaching hot and sickly season. On that day, after every preparation had been made to abandon the post at Stono ferry, where the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland commanded, with about eight hundred men, it was attacked by at least five thousand rebel troops, headed by General Lincoln. They had a train of artillery consisting of eight pieces of cannon, and made their attack with great spirit ; but were received with determined firmness by the British troops, who were aided by the fire from the armed vessels, which covered the left flank of the post. On perceiving a reinforcement of troops, ferrying across from John's island, to the assistance of Colonel Maitland, the rebels made so precipitate a retreat, that their army suffered but little from the troops, who pushed out after them, with a design to harass their rear. Luckily for them, the cavalry had been sent away, a few days before the rebels had ventured on this enterprize, in which they severely suffered. They lost in this attack a Colonel of artillery, besides twenty-eight officers of different ranks, and between three and four hundred men killed and wounded. They were enabled to carry off all the latter, and many of the former, by having a number of empty waggons, which they had brought with them for that purpose. The loss sustained by his Majesty's forces, consisted of one Major, two subaltern officers, and

and nineteen non-commissioned officers and privates killed ; and one Major, two Captains, six subaltern officers, and ninety-three non-commissioned officers and privates wounded ; and one private missing. General Prevost ordered the troops to remain on the ground three days after the action ; when no enemy appearing, he abandoned it, moved to Port Royal island, where he established a post, and proceeded with the remainder of the troops to Savannah. The Americans complained bitterly, of the treatment which they received from the royal army in this expedition against Charlestown. They averred, that the negroes, allured by the hope of freedom, had repaired in great numbers to General Prevost ; that, to ingratiate themselves with their new masters, they had discovered the places, in which their owners had secreted their money, jewels, plate, and most valuable effects, when the British troops invaded the country ; and that, by these means, the colony lost three thousand negroes, most of whom were afterwards sold and sent to the West Indies, besides an immense booty, which the army carried off when it retreated to the islands. How far these complaints were well founded, it is impossible to say. Perhaps they are greatly exaggerated : and the rapid motions of the army, may have prevented the complaints of the inhabitants from reaching the General's ears, in proper time for him to afford the necessary redress. Even in the best light in which it can be viewed, the country which is the seat of war must be unhappy : and where the greatest part of the inhabitants were in arms against their lawful Sovereign, the dispossessing them of their wealth and property can scarcely be viewed in a criminal light, nor reckoned contrary to the usages of war.

Whether it proceeded from orders sent from Britain, or from the particular situation in which the Commander in Chief found himself placed, it may not be easy to determine ; but the operations of this campaign rather gave it the appearance of a war of detachments, than rendered it remarkable for any grand chain of design, or great military exploit. The first occurrence in it, worth mentioning, was a petty expedition of

the enemy's, which they sent against Sagg harbour, near the east end of Long Island, where the Honourable Major Charles Cochrane commanded a small detachment of his Majesty's forces. On the first of February, at day-break, a brig and two sloops were seen standing in for the harbour, and were supposed, by some of the inhabitants, to be vessels belonging to the rebels. They were fired at by the King's armed ship lying in the harbour, and by another vessel; but paid little attention to them, and kept standing on, until they were within reach of the guns on shore. Then hoisting rebel colours, they cannonaded for some time; but as the twelve pounders from the battery proved too heavy metal for them, they stood out of the harbour towards the end of Hog-neck, from which a distant firing was kept up, until it was perceived that the rebel brig was aground. A twelve pounder was immediately moved down to the end of Long-wharf, and was so well pointed, that her shot deterred the sloops from going to the assistance of the brig. Major Cochrane, with the infantry of the British Legion, and the three pounder attached to that corps, in the mean time, crossed over to Hog-neck, from which the gun bore with such advantage on the brig, that she soon after surrendered; but having five whale-boats on board, all her hands, except three, got off to the sloops, which immediately quitted the bay. She proved to be the Middleton, of sixteen six pounders, was going on a cruise, and was found completely fitted in every thing. The sloops were privateers also: one of them mounted fourteen, and the other ten guns.

Sir Henry Clinton, having received undoubted intelligence, that the enemy were amassing a great many stores and magazines in Virginia, determined, if possible, to destroy them. He therefore concerted measures with Commodore Sir George Collier for that purpose, and embarked a body of infantry, amounting to two thousand five hundred men,* the command of

* The grenadiers and light companies of the guards; 42d, or Royal Highlanders; Royal Volunteers of Ireland; and the Hessian regiment of Prince Charles.

of which he gave to Major-General Matthew. They sailed from New York on the 5th of May, in twenty-two transports, escorted by the *Raisonable*, (on board of which the Commodore had his broad pendant) *Rainbow*, the *Otter*, *Diligent*, and *Haerlem* sloops, and *Cornwallis* galley, and several private ships of war. They reached the Capes of Virginia on the 8th, but it was the 10th before the weather permitted them to land. At sun-rise on the 9th, some rebel ships and vessels were seen in Hampton road, with their sails loose; but, as soon as the tide admitted of it, they got under way and run up *Elizabeth* and *James's* rivers. The Commodore proceeded with the fleet to Hampton road, where he came to anchor. Here, he shifted his pendant to the *Rainbow*; the great draught of water which the *Raisonable* drew, not admitting of her going further with conveniency. As soon as the tide began to make, Sir George Collier made the signal to weigh, and pushed up *Elizabeth* river, until a contrary wind and the ebb of the tide obliged the fleet to come once more to an anchor. The morning of the 10th proved calm, which prevented the ships from moving up the river with the flood tide, on account of the narrowness and intricacy of the channel. But as the intended place of debarkation was not more than five or six miles distant, General Matthew, determined not to lose a moment, embarked the first division of the troops in the flat-boats, and under cover of the *Cornwallis* galley, and two gun-boats that carried a six pounder at each end, proceeded up, and landed about three in the afternoon at the *Glebe*, on the western shore of *Elizabeth* river, three miles below the town of *Portsmouth*, and just out of cannon-shot of *Fort Nelson*, which fired some heavy guns at the galley. A fresh breeze springing up, the ships soon followed; and immediately on the return of the flat-boats from the shore, the remainder of the troops, with the field artillery, were landed with the utmost dispatch. General Matthew immediately put the troops in motion, with a design to invest the fort; which the rebels perceiving, and dreading that their retreat would be cut off, they evacuated the place,

before the troops could reach the south branch of Elizabeth river. Possession was immediately taken of the fort and town of Portsmouth; and the troops were encamped in two lines, the right of the camp close to the fort, and the left to the south branch of Elizabeth river. On the 11th, General Matthew pushed forward two corps: one, composed of the flank companies of the guards, took a strong position ten miles in front of the right wing; the other, composed of the Volunteers of Ireland, took one equally strong, seven miles in front of the left wing. The centre of the line was covered by an impenetrable swamp. On the 12th, the guards, under the command of Colonel Garth, marched at night eighteen miles, and arrived at Suffolk at day-break. The rebels hastily deserted the town; when some vessels, a very large magazine of provisions, with naval stores, and two pieces of cannon, were destroyed.* When the enemy abandoned Fort Nelson, they set fire to all their ships that were on the stocks in the dock-yard, one of whom was a fine frigate just ready for launching: the flames spread and consumed several vessels, among the number of which were two French ships, which had upwards of a thousand hogheads of tobacco on board. The detachment, under Colonel Garth, rejoined the army as soon as the magazines were destroyed. When the British colours were hoisted on Fort Nelson, possession was taken of the town of Norfolk, which is situated directly opposite to Portsmouth, on the other side of the river. Here also were found great quantities of naval and military stores, and large magazines of provisions. Of the latter, three thousand barrels of pork were destroyed at Norfolk; one hundred and seventeen were taken at Portsmouth, with one hundred and thirteen barrels of flour, fifty-nine hogheads of molasses, and forty-three puncheons of rum. The Commodore, apprehending that many more of the enemy's vessels had pushed up the river, dispatched the Cornwallis galley, two gun-boats, four flat-boats manned and armed, together with four privateers, which had desired to receive orders

* See Note 133.

orders from him, under the command of Lieutenant Bradley, assisted by Lieutenants Hitchcock and Johnson, in pursuit of them. They had the good fortune to be very successful in this enterprise, taking and burning a great many of the enemy's vessels, several of which were on the stocks and ready for launching. Among those taken, was the Black Snake privateer of fourteen guns, which, after being cannonaded by the gunboats, was carried by boarding, with the loss of some of the enemy, while on the side of the British, only two men were wounded. When the Commodore entered Elizabeth river, he sent some small ships of war, under the direction of Captain Creyk of the Otter, up the main branch of the Chesapeake; and was much pleased with the judicious movements of this little squadron, which harried and distressed the enemy very much, and took several vessels and destroyed others. Among the former were two vessels, having on board about two hundred hogheads of tobacco.

The naval and military stores, and provisions, particularly the former, were shipped on board transports, and carried to New York, for the use of his Majesty's careening yard there. Of the provisions, General Matthew distributed daily a great quantity, to the numerous inhabitants of Portsmouth and its environs. While the troops, assisted by a body of negroes, were busily employed in destroying Fort Nelson, having received information on the 16th of May, that some parties of the enemy had been seen sculking about the Great Bridge, seven miles in front of Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle's post, he ordered that officer to march suddenly, and endeavour to drive them away: and to enable him to execute these orders, he reinforced him with some dragoons, under the command of Captain Deimar. This exploit succeeded very well: the enemy were dispersed, and the Colonel took post at the bridge. In consequence of good intelligence being brought to the General, that the enemy had many public stores at Kempe's landing in Princess Anne county, and some considerable vessels in the east branch of Elizabeth river, and on the stocks, he gave orders

on the 17th, to a strong detachment of the 42d regiment, under the command of Colonel Stirling, to cross the river at Norfolk, and march to Kempe's landing, a distance of nine miles; and the Commodore sent a gun-boat and some flat-boats up that branch of the river, to give the troops all the aid in their power. Colonel Stirling's success was complete: and he performed this service so expeditiously, that he returned to camp with his detachment, that same evening. On the 22d of May, another detachment of the 42d regiment, in two flat-boats, fell down the river to Tanner's creek, where they destroyed six vessels on the stocks, one of which was nearly completed for sixteen guns.

General Matthew, having now executed his orders, agreeably to his instructions, embarked his troops in order to return to New York; having first destroyed the fort, and burnt the barracks, storehouses, and all the buildings in the dock-yard, together with such stores as it was impossible to carry away, and such vessels on the stocks as had not been destroyed by the enemy.

The success of this expedition far exceeded the Commander in Chief's most sanguine expectations, with respect both to the immense loss sustained by the enemy, and to the quantity of naval and military stores acquired, and brought to New York. It is next to impossible to ascertain, with exactness, the immense value of provisions, masts, yards, timber, plank, iron, nails, blocks, rigging, sail-cloth, tar, and other naval and military stores, which fell into the hands of the King's forces on this occasion; besides great quantities of tobacco, molasses, and other articles. In addition to all these, from the time when the fleet entered the Chesapeake, above one hundred and thirty vessels were taken or destroyed. Among the latter may be reckoned, a ship of war of twenty-four guns, almost rigged, burnt by the enemy; another of thirty-six guns, not quite finished, and on the stocks; one of eighteen, one of sixteen, and three of fourteen guns, all designed for privateers.

Every thing being ready, the Commodore proceeded to sea with

with the fleet on the 25th of May, taking with him seventeen valuable prizes, and arrived at Sandy Hook three days afterwards. The loss of men, in killed or wounded in this expedition, was so very small, that it is not worth mentioning.

Sir Henry Clinton received certain information, that the enemy were fortifying the posts of Stony Point and Verplank's, on the Hudson's river; and was convinced, that the possession of them by the British troops, would be of the greatest importance to the security of the posts which he occupied, between the city of New York and these places. He was likewise aware, that the route, by these posts, was the most direct and convenient communication between the countries on each side of that river; and that, if the enemy were deprived of them, it would give them a detour of near ninety miles, to keep open the intercourse between the northern and southern provinces. Having therefore made some movements with his army, in order to draw the attention of General Washington, he resolved on an expedition up the North River, against the two posts above-mentioned, to be conducted by himself, assisted by Major-General Vaughan. The troops destined for that service were ready to set out, when the fleet and troops from Virginia returned to New York. The Commodore most readily agreed to accompany Sir Henry Clinton, who ordered the troops newly returned to proceed in their transports up the North River, and to form a junction with the troops which he had embarked. On the 30th, the whole sailed up the river; the Commodore in the *Raisonné* leading the way, and having with him the *Camilla*, *Vulture* sloop, *Cornwallis*, *Crane*, and *Philadelphia* galleys, and two gun-boats. They passed the *chevaux de frize* without any accident. About eight miles above Dobbs's ferry, the Commodore quitted the *Raisonné*, hoisted his pendant on board the *Camilla*, and proceeding forward with the transports, anchored that evening just out of random shot of Fort la Fayette, which the rebels had erected on Verplank's Point. Next morning, Major-General Vaughan was landed, with a considerable body of troops, on the east side of the river,

eight miles below Verplank's; while General Clinton, with the 17th, 63d, and 64th regiments, and one hundred Yagers, proceeded within three miles of Stony Point. These troops Sir Henry Clinton placed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, ordered them to disembark and act in conjunction with the troops already landed, immediately on their arrival: himself commanding the whole, and directing the attack. On the ships coming in view, the rebels abandoned their works, which were nearly completed, and set fire to a large blockhouse. As the troops arrived to take possession, the enemy made some shew of resistance, by drawing up upon the hills, but did not wait the conflict.

Some shot were exchanged between the ships and Fort de la Fayette, while the troops were taking possession of the heights of Stony Point, which commanded it. In the night, the artillery deemed necessary for the siege were landed; and the proper places for erecting batteries were selected. Major-General Pattison, by great perseverance and fatigue, being well seconded by the troops, was able to erect two batteries, one of which was for mortars, on the summit of a difficult rock. By dawn of day these began to play across the river, on Fort de la Fayette, at the distance of about a thousand yards; but from the heights on which they were situated, they had greatly the command of the place. The cannonading continued through the whole day, during which time the division of the King's troops, under the command of Major-General Vaughan, completely invested the fort. As soon as it was dark, the Commodore, to prevent the enemy from effecting their escape by water, which, according to information which the General had received, they intended to attempt; ordered the Vulture sloop and Cornwallis galley to pass the fort, and anchor above it; which they did, without sustaining any damage. On the morning of the 2d of June, the firing from the ships, galleys, and batteries commenced; and quickly became so superior to that of the enemy, that perceiving all means of retreat cut off, they beat the chamade, and soon consented, both to deliver up the place,

place, and to surrender themselves prisoners of war at discretion. The fort was found to be a small but very complete work, furnished with a blockhouse, double ditch, chevaux de frize, and abbatis. Sir Henry Clinton placed a garrison in it, and as Stony Point is very strong by nature, he ordered it to be also fortified and garrisoned. By the possession of these two places, he was master of King's ferry, a circumstance which the enemy very severely felt.

General Clinton, being desirous of drawing General Washington from the strong posts which he occupied in the mountains, determined to send a desultory expedition into the East Sound; in hopes, that this might induce him to march in defence of the towns on the Connecticut coast. In that event, he considered it as probable that he might bring him to a general engagement, on less disadvantageous terms, than by directly attacking his intrenchments: and he foresaw, that if the rebel army should be defeated and dispersed, the whole country would be at the mercy of the British troops. He had also another reason for undertaking this expedition. The Commodore had represented to him, that the Americans, by means of the great numbers of small privateers, which they fitted out in the ports situated along the East Sound, had in a great measure destroyed the whole commerce of his Majesty's subjects in those parts. The extirpation of those vermin, therefore, became a secondary inducement to execute his plan. Sir George Collier accordingly, on the first of July, dispatched the *Renown*, *Thames*, *Otter* sloop, and two armed vessels, to block up New London, and the east entrance of the Sound: and General Clinton having embarked, in transports, about two thousand six hundred men, under the command of Major-General Tryon and Brigadier-General Garth, ordered them to Whitstone; where Sir George Collier in the *Camilla*, with the *Scorpion*, *Halifax* brig, and *Hussar* galley, from New York by way of Hell-gate, joined them on the 3d of July, and in the evening of that day put to sea. On the 5th, in the morning, they came to an anchor off the harbour of New-haven:

haven: and by five o'clock, the first division of the troops,* under General Garth, was landed at a place a mile south of Westhaven, and immediately began to march, making a circuit of more than seven miles, to get round a creek on the west side of the town. As soon as the boats returned from the shore, General Tryon embarked the second division of his troops in them, and a little before noon, made good his landing on the eastern side of the harbour,† and instantly proceeded to New-haven, which is distant about three miles. The enemy, who had received previous notice of this enterprise, made a considerable opposition; but retired as the troops approached. One field-piece, with which the corps under General Tryon had been annoyed when they were landing, was taken; and also a battery of three guns, situated on a rock, which commanded the channel of the harbour. This enabled the armed vessels to enter it, and draw near the town, where the troops formed a junction. General Garth had been obliged to fight his way, for the greatest part of the march from Westhaven; but had every where repulsed the enemy. Their public stores, and some vessels and ordnance, were destroyed; and six field-pieces, and a privateer ready for sea, were brought off. On the 6th, the troops were re-embarked, with very little molestation. On the 8th, the fleet was off Fairfield: and the troops immediately got into the flat-boats, and under cover of the galley and gun-boats, landed near the town, although opposed by a considerable body of militia and continental soldiers. The General immediately marched for Fairfield, where the enemy, very foolishly, kept firing on the King's troops from windows and tops of houses; and thereby provoked a band of loyal refugees to set the place on fire, by which a great many whale-boats, and most of the town was consumed. On the 9th, the troops

* Consisting of the flank companies of the guards; 7th, or Royal English Fusiliers; 54th regiment; a detachment of Yagers, and two pieces of artillery.

† Consisting of the 23d regiment, or Royal Welsh Fusiliers; two regiments of Hessians; the King's American regiment of provincials, and two pieces of cannon.

troops were again re-embarked, and the fleet crossed the Sound to Huntingdon in Long Island, where it arrived in the evening. Having taken on board some refreshments, it sailed on the 11th, once more across the Sound; and anchored five miles from the bay of Norwalk, where the troops landed in three divisions, and marched directly towards the town. The rebels made considerable opposition to them, and behaved very treacherously, firing on them from the windows and tops of houses, after having granted them safeguards. This base conduct induced the General to order his men to set the town on fire, by which it was entirely consumed, together with five large vessels, two privateer brigs on the stocks, and twenty whale-boats; as also two saw-mills, a considerable salt work, several warehouses of stores, merchandize, and other articles. The small town of Greenfield underwent the same chastisement, for the like reason. Here two row-boat privateers were destroyed, and many whale-boats. On the 12th, the troops were re-embarked without opposition, and returned to Huntingdon bay, in order to be ready to go on another enterprise: but General Tryon received orders to return with them to New York. Scarcely had they all arrived there, when they received disagreeable news, that the rebels had, on the night of the 15th of July, taken the important post at Stony Point by surprise, although a very considerable garrison had been placed in it, and that too under the command of a very able officer. No exploit, during the course of this unfortunate war, did more honour to the rebels, or raised their military reputation higher, than this did. It was conducted by a General Wayne, who, with admirable secrecy and courage, carried the place by storm. His numbers it is true were very considerable, for he had near four thousand men under his command; but his measures were so admirably taken, and his guides were so well acquainted with the ground, that his troops were in action, before the garrison knew of their approach. The loss sustained, on the part of the British, was not so considerable as might have been expected, from the nature of the attack.* No sooner did the enemy be-

come

* See Note 134.

come masters of Stony Point, than, with the heavy artillery found there, they commenced a furious cannonade across the river, on the post established at Verplank's Point, where Lieutenant-Colonel Webster commanded.* Soon after this attack, he received information, that they had a considerable force in his rear, with which, if they did not also attack him from that quarter, they might at least make his retreat, if he should be driven to that extremity, very difficult.

Immediately on this intelligence reaching New York, Sir Henry Clinton put his army in motion, and advanced to Dobbs's ferry, pushing forward the cavalry and some light troops to the banks of the Croton river, to awe the enemy in any attempt by land against Verplank's Point. Brigadier-General Stirling was, in the mean time, embarked, with the 42d, 63d, and 64th regiments, on board transports, for the relief of Verplank's, or the recovery of Stony Point. The Commodore returned in the critical moment, to conduct them up the river; but, from the northerly winds prevailing, a circumstance rather uncommon at this season, it was the 19th before they could proceed on their voyage. They made then all possible haste: and, on the appearance of the ships, the enemy abandoned Stony Point with the greatest precipitation; having first removed all the mortars, and either buried or thrown into the river, what cannon they had not embarked in their galley.

Lieutenant-Colonel Webster had, with great firmness, supported the heavy fire of the enemy, and had not, during the whole time of it, deigned to return a single shot, being sensible that it could have no material effect. By this conduct, the rebels were induced to believe, that he had no heavy cannon, and therefore brought a galley down the river, to carry off from Stony Point part of the artillery, which they would have found too cumbersome to transport by land, through the roads of that country. As soon as they had conveyed the cannon on board the galley, Lieutenant-Colonel Webster opened upon her an
eighteen

* The garrison of Verplank's Point consisted of the 33d regiment, Loyal Americans, and detachments from the 71st regiment and royal artillery.

eighteen pounder, the only piece of heavy ordnance he had : and his shot were so well aimed, and raked her with such effect, that, to prevent her sinking, the crew run her ashore, and there set her on fire. Sir Henry Clinton was so anxious for the success of Brigadier-General Stirling, that, lest the long contrary winds should have given the enemy time to collect a force at both places, of sufficient strength to frustrate his designs, he embarked a large body of troops, with which he joined him in Haverstraw bay. Such was the situation of the British army, that it could have been assembled with the greatest ease, if its seemingly dispersed state had been able to betray General Washington into the snare of leaving his strongholds, and hazard-ing an engagement for the possession of Stony Point ; but he was too cautious to do this, in a country unfavourable to him.

Sir Henry Clinton left five battalions, under the command of Brigadier-General Stirling, to repair and strengthen the works at Stony Point, which the rebels had greatly damaged, and returned to New York and its environs with the army. The Commodore also returned there with the large ships. Soon after his arrival, he received certain information, that a very considerable force had sailed from Boston, to attack a post which Brigadier-General Francis M'Lean had, by order of the Commander in Chief, established at Majebigwaduce on the river Ponobscot : and he accordingly sailed from Sandy Hook, on the 3d of August, with his Majesty's ships *Raisonable*, *Greyhound*, *Blonde*, *Virginia*, *Camilla*, *Galatea*, and *Otter* sloop, in hopes of arriving in time to frustrate their design.

Before proceeding in the detail of Sir George Collier's operations, it will be necessary to turn our attention to those of Brigadier-General M'Lean, who commanded his Majesty's troops at Halifax. He had received Sir Henry Clinton's orders, as the reader has been already informed, to establish a post on the river Ponobscot, as soon as the season would permit ; and to detach for that purpose, such a part of the troops in the province of Nova Scotia, as he should judge sufficient, and compatible with the safety of Halifax. Sir Henry Clinton,
knowing

knowing well what an excellent officer General M'Lean was, gave him a discretionary power to proceed on any other expedition, that he might judge practicable, to the eastward of Casco bay. General M'Lean thought it would best answer the intentions of the Commander in Chief, to go himself with the troops to the river Ponobscot, as he would, by these means, be at hand to judge of the practicability or utility of any other movement. He was farther induced to adopt this plan, by the consideration, that while at Ponobscot, the ships and troops employed on that service were in fact covering the coast on the Bay of Fundy: and he apprehended, that nothing of consequence could be carrying on in the New England provinces, of which he might not obtain intelligence in due time to take his measures accordingly.

Having made all the necessary arrangements, he embarked the troops, and under the escort of three sloops of war, viz. the Albany, North, and Nautilus, sailed from Halifax; and on the 16th of June landed, on the peninsula of Majebigwadduce, in the river Ponobscot, a body of troops, consisting of four hundred and fifty men of the 74th regiment, a highland corps commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell, and two hundred men of the 82d regiment, (the General's own regiment). The difficulties in clearing the wood, landing provisions and stores, and placing them in safety, occupied them so long after their arrival, that it was the 2d of July before the intended fort could be marked out: and although the utmost exertions were made, by the officers and men of both services, it was very far from being in a state to afford them any security, against the vigorous attack with which they were threatened. On the 21st of July, General M'Lean received certain information of the sailing of a very considerable armament from Boston, for the purpose already mentioned: and at that time, two of the bastions of the intended fort were untouched; the remaining two, with the curtains, were in part about four or five feet in height, and twelve in thickness; the ditch was, in most parts, not above three feet in depth; no platform

platform was laid, nor any artillery mounted. Finding that it would be impossible to finish the fort, before the enemy would be at hand, he resolved to let it remain in its present state : and relying on the zeal and ardour which appeared to actuate all ranks, he immediately set to work to put the post in the best posture of defence, which the shortness of the time would admit. In this, as in every thing else, he received the most cordial and efficacious support, from the officers and crews of the three sloops of war, who were determined, with the utmost cheerfulness to abide the fate of the garrison. The fort, which had hitherto afforded employment to the troops, was situated about the middle of a small peninsula, of two thousand four hundred yards long from east to west, and of a sort of irregular triangular form. It was about one thousand yards in breadth, where broadest, which was at the west end : and it was joined to the continent about the middle, on the north side, by an isthmus or neck of land, about one hundred yards in breadth, and about three hundred yards in length. The harbour is formed by several small islands, running parallel to the peninsula on the south side, from which they are distant from five to twelve hundred yards. The great point at which General McLean aimed, was to prevent the enemy from forming a landing on the peninsula : and, for this purpose, he fortified the isthmus as well as he could. He also erected, on a point of land, a four gun battery to aid the vessels of war, which were now formed in a line to oppose the enemy, if they should incline to force the entrance of the harbour : and near to them he placed the transports, some of which were fitted up as fireships, and were ready, in case of need, to have grappled with their vessels. Such was their situation, on the 25th of July, when the hostile fleet, consisting of thirty-seven sail, made its appearance : and on that day its principal armed vessels, formed into three divisions, cannonaded the three war vessels ; but met with such a warm reception, as compelled them to retire. While their ships were on this service, their land-forces got into boats, and endeavoured to make good a landing

landing on the peninsula; but were unable to effect it. This mode of attack, by the enemy's sea and land-forces, was repeated for some days, and with no better success: but on the morning of the 28th, they were more fortunate; for, by dint of numbers, they made good their landing on the peninsula, and forced the piquets to retire to the fort. This unexpected success of the enemy, forced General M'Lean to change the plan of his operations, and to trust his defence entirely to the works which he had raised, and to the strengthening and completing of which, all his attention was now directed. So well was he seconded in these operations, that the fort daily became more formidable to the enemy: who, on the third day after they had landed, opened upon it a battery of cannon, at seven hundred and fifty yards distance; and in a few days afterwards, another a little nearer. With these, they kept up upon the fort, a constant and well directed fire, which was returned as well as circumstances would admit. They likewise repeated their attacks on the three sloops of war; but notwithstanding their immense superiority in ships and weight of metal, they were constantly foiled, the rebel Commodore neither displaying a spirit of enterprise nor conduct, for the want of which he was much blamed by his own people. The enemy being in possession of the islands on the south side of the harbour, erected a battery on the one nearest to the sloops of war, which obliged the King's ships to move a little farther up the harbour; but this did not advance their labour much. The vigilance of General M'Lean and his garrison, prevented them from executing any thing by surprise; and they were obliged to trust entirely to the effect which their batteries had on the works. In this state things continued until the 12th of August, when a deserter came in, who informed the General that the enemy designed, in the following night, to storm the fort; and that their fleet was, at the same time, to enter the harbour and board the King's ships. Upon this information, he gave directions that a small work, covered with light artillery, should be immediately thrown up, at about one hundred and fifty yards

yards in front of the fort, as a farther security to the body of the place: and ordered every man to his post. After waiting long with the greatest impatience for their approach, but without entertaining the smallest apprehension as to the event, daylight began at last to appear, and the General observing, on the enemy's side, an unusual quietness, was induced to order a closer inspection; when, to the inexpressible astonishment of the whole army, it was found, that the rebels had totally abandoned their camp and works, and had re-embarked both their troops and artillery. In the mean time, General M'Lean pushed out two parties with the greatest dispatch after the enemy: one he sent into the wood where their batteries were placed, and the other he ordered across the isthmus; but all was in vain. Not a prisoner could be picked up: they had embarked their baggage during the night, and the whole of their artillery, except what was on the island at the entrance of the harbour, which consisted only of two eighteen pounders, and one twelve pounder, which they had spiked, but not so effectually as to prevent them from being soon rendered serviceable. The cause of the enemy's sudden flight was not long undiscovered. Early in the morning of the 14th of August, Sir George Collier, with the squadron under his command, entered Ponobscot river: and about eleven o'clock, the rebel fleet presented itself to their view, drawn up in a crescent across the river, and seemingly inclined to dispute the passage. This apparent resolution, however, soon failed; and an unexpected and ignominious flight took place. The Blonde, Virginia, and Galatea, were the headmost ships, and might be about three miles before the rest of the squadron. Nevertheless, the Commodore, without taking time to form his fleet, made the signal for a general chase.* The King's ships followed them, with all the eagerness which a desire of destroying their enemies could inspire. Two of the rebel fleet, viz. the Hunter and Defence, made an attempt to get off by the west passage of Long Island; but failing in that, the former ran ashore with

* See Note 135.

every sail standing, and the latter concealed herself in a small inlet, where she anchored. Both intended to push out to sea as soon as it became dark; but Sir George Collier observing them, sent Lieutenant Mackay of the *Raisonné*, with fifty men to board the *Hunter*, in which attempt he succeeded without loss, though many popping shots were fired at him by the rebels from the woods. At the same time, he directed Captain Collins, of the *Camilla*, to proceed into the inlet, and take or destroy the *Defence*; but on seeing his ship standing towards her, the crew set her on fire, and escaped into the woods: and she blew up about midnight. The pursuit up the river was continued by the King's ships; and a considerable hazard attended this part of the chase: partly owing to the extreme narrowness of the channel, partly to shoals, and partly to the flaming ships on each side the river. The *Hampden* of twenty guns, finding herself so closely beset, as not to be able to run ashore, surrendered. All the rest of the rebel fleet, among which was a beautiful frigate called the *Warren*, of thirty-two guns, eighteen and twelve pounders, together with twenty-four sail of transports, were completely destroyed, some by themselves to avoid being captured, but mostly by his Majesty's ships. Nor did the three war sloops, which had so bravely seconded the garrison during the siege, fail to come in for a share of the glory of the day. As soon as it was known, that it was the British fleet come to their assistance, their Captains, with an expedition that did them the greatest honour, got on board the guns which they had lent for the defence of the place, had their damaged rigging repaired, got under way so as to join Sir George Collier by the time that his ships came opposite to the entrance of the harbour, and with the squadron had their share in destroying the enemy's fleet. Mr. Saltonstall commanded the enemy's naval force, and General Lovell their troops, which were estimated at three thousand men. Both their sailors and foldiers, after they abandoned their vessels, suffered great distress from hunger and fatigue, in exploring their way back to Boston, through the thick woods and desert wastes,

wastes, where undoubtedly many of them perished. After their defeat, they quarrelled amongst themselves and fought; and between fifty and sixty of them were slain in the scuffle. Although only two vessels were taken, viz. the *Hampden* of twenty, and the *Hunter* of sixteen six pounders, a fine new ship, esteemed the fastest sailer in America; yet, as nothing escaped, the victory was most complete.* The town of Boston had been at the expence of this armament: and so anxious were its citizens for the success of it, that, to stimulate the sailors to behave well, they relinquished to them, their share of the prize-money and plunder to which they would have been entitled, had they proved successful. Few places ever experienced such a blow to their marine: and considering how active a part Boston had taken in fomenting the unhappy differences between the mother-country and the colonists, there will not be found many disposed to regret the loss which it now sustained.

Besides those of the ships taken, many guns of those which were burnt were recovered: and almost all the enemy's battering train fell successively into the hands of the British. This contributed, in no small degree, to the completion of the fort.

The account, given by Brigadier-General M'Lean, of the defence he made, is modest in the extreme; but in his commendations of the officers under him, and when speaking of the assistance which he received from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and others, his language is strong and manly. He points out their merits, by the gratitude which he seems to feel for their unremitting exertions in the contest. The unanimity which so conspicuously prevailed in both departments, contributed greatly to their honour and success. Sir George Collier, after so gloriously finishing the business here, returned with the squadron to New York, where Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot also arrived with his fleet from England.

General M'Lean, leaving a proper garrison at Majebigwa-
duce, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell,

K K 2

returned

* See Note 136.

returned with the remainder of the forces to Halifax ; where, in May 1781, a fever deprived his country of this most excellent officer and worthy man.

In consequence of the rupture with the Court of Spain, the operations of war on the continent of North America were this year widely extended. Don Bernard de Galvez, his Catholic Majesty's Governor of Louisiana, being furnished with very early intelligence of the designs of his Court, made preparations for invading, with a very considerable force, the British territories along the banks of the Mississippi ; and actually commenced hostilities almost as soon in Florida, as his nation did in Europe. The small number of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson of the 16th regiment, was neither able to prevent the invasion of the province, nor to stop the progress of the invaders. Several small posts fell successively into the hands of the Spaniards : and the Colonel, with what men he could muster, retired to Baton Rouge, where he ordered a redoubt to be thrown up. It was scarcely finished, when he learned, that the enemy were advancing against it. On the 12th of September, it was invested ; early in the morning of the 21st, a battery of heavy cannon was opened against it ; and after an incessant fire on both sides for upwards of three hours, it was so much damaged, that Colonel Dickson finding the post no longer tenable, was obliged to surrender it by capitulation.

When the Comte d'Estaing left the Leeward Islands, he carried along with his squadron, a very considerable military force, together with a train of battering cannon, to be ready to act as exigencies might require : and with these he arrived at Cape François. While there, he was strongly solicited by the rebel Congress, to join his forces with theirs under General Lincoln in South Carolina ; and in conjunction with him, to oblige the King's troops to abandon the province of Georgia. To this proposal M. d'Estaing consented, wishing to give the rebels a proof of the sincerity of his Master's friendship for them, and anxious to do something, that might induce them

to forget his conduct at Rhode Island, in the preceding campaign. At Cape François, he was joined by some military, which, with those he brought with him, might make his land-forces amount to about five thousand five hundred men : and the rebels, under General Lincoln, might be about three thousand five hundred, including some hundreds of free blacks and mulattoes. He had twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, seven frigates, several sloops, storeships, cutters, and small craft. With this great force, he sailed from Cape François, and arrived off the coast of Georgia on the 1st of September, intending first to take the town of Savannah, and then to proceed and lay siege to New York.

As soon as he got through the windward passage, he sent two ships of the line and three frigates to Charlestown, to announce his arrival. The rebels, on receiving this intelligence, made every exertion in their power, not only to increase their military force under General Lincoln, who immediately began his march for Savannah ; but also, to send a reinforcement of gallies and small craft to the assistance of the French fleet. So little was this force expected on this coast, that his Majesty's ship *Experiment* of fifty guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, and carrying a considerable sum of money for the payment of the troops in Georgia, having been dismasted on her voyage from New York, unfortunately fell in with it, on the 24th of September, and was taken. The ships detached by M. d'Estaing for Charlestown, were seen from Tybee on the 3d of September : and Lieutenant Lock of the *Rose* frigate, who had been sent in a swift sailing vessel to reconnoitre them, reported, on his return, that they were French. Captain Henry, immediately on receiving this report, dispatched Lieutenant Whitworth, of the *Keppel* brig, in a fast sailing tender to New York, to put Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot on their guard. On the 8th, M. d'Estaing, with a fleet consisting of forty-one sail, were discovered a little to the southward of Tybee.*

K K 3

Upon

* See Note 137.

Upon the first alarm of the enemy being on the coast, General Prevost exerted himself to the utmost, to increase and strengthen the fortifications of the town of Savannah; and was most ably seconded in his operations, by Captain James Moncrieffe of the engineers, and Captain Henry of the navy. Orders were sent to the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, who was posted with a considerable detachment of troops at Beaufort, and to Captain Christian of his Majesty's ship *Vigilant*, to repair as soon as possible to Savannah, with the troops, ships, and galleys, then at Port Royal island. Unfortunately, the express with these orders was intercepted by some of the rebel patrols; and, previous to the arrival of a second messenger, the enemy had time to seize on the principal communications between the two places. This rendered the junction of that detachment with the garrison, upon which alone any hope of defending Savannah could be reasonably founded, a matter extremely precarious, difficult, and dangerous. Happily, however, the abilities of Colonel Maitland, and the zeal of the troops under his command, powerfully aided by the professional skill of Lieutenant Goldefbrough of the navy, who was thoroughly acquainted with the various creeks, inlets, and cuts, with which the interior navigation of this country abounds, overcame every obstacle in their way. The battery at Tybee was destroyed; the leading marks for the bar were cut down; and the little naval force there was held in readiness to run up the river Savannah, as soon as the French fleet were seen making for the mouth of it.

On the 9th, the whole of the French fleet anchored off the bar: and on the 10th, four frigates weighed and came to Tybee anchorage. M. d'Estaing had got from Charlestown, a large supply of small craft, into which he put his troops; and they proceeded into Offabaw inlet, and made good the debarkation of their forces at Bowley, thirteen miles from Savannah, under cover of four galleys. The French frigates prepared, at the same time, to advance up the river.

Captain Henry and the naval department were employed,
from

from the 10th to the 13th, in conveying to Savannah, part of the guns and ammunition of the *Rose* and *Fowey*, in vessels which General Prevost had sent down for that purpose. On the 13th, both frigates being much lightened, sailed over the Mud-flat to Five Fathom Hole, from which the remainder of their guns and ammunition were conveyed up to the town, which is only three miles distant. The *Comet* galley, *Keppel* brig, and some armed vessels, were so placed as to cover the passage of Colonel Maitland, with the forces under his command, from Port Royal, through Wallcut. On the 14th and 15th, the seamen completed the important business of landing the cannon and ammunition from the ships and small vessels: and they were appointed to the different batteries, under the command of Captains Henry, Brown, and Fisher of the navy. Some masters of transports, and the master of a privateer, with their men,* made voluntary offers of their service; as did Mr. Manley, merchant of Jamaica. Their offers were accepted; and they had their posts assigned them. The marines were incorporated with the grenadiers of the 60th regiment.

On the 16th, the Comte d'Estaing sent a haughty letter to General Prevost, summoning him to surrender the place to his Most Christian Majesty: informing him, at the same time, that among the troops which he had the honour to command, was the detachment which had stormed the Hospital Hill at the Grenades. He begged leave to recal this to his memory; and assured him, that he gave him this notice from motives of humanity, in order to spare the shedding of human blood.† General Prevost, on receiving this message, called a meeting of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Field-Officers in the garrison, who authorised him to say, that he declined surrendering on a general summons, without specific terms; but that, if such were proposed as he could with honour accept, he would then give his answer.‡ This drew a reply from M.

K K 4

d'Estaing,

* Captain Watfon of the *Tweed*; Tate of the *Nancy*; and Higgins of the *Betsy*.

† See Note 138, and there No. 1.

‡ See Note 139, and there No. 2.

d'Estaing, in which he affirmed, that it was customary, not for besiegers, but for those who were besieged, to propose terms of capitulation; stated, that he had no objections to allow the General every indulgence consistent with his duty; and informed him, that, as it was his intention next day to form a junction with the army of the United States of America, if his answer was not immediately ready, he must in future treat with General Lincoln and him.* General Prevost, in return, demanded a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours;† as a time absolutely necessary for deliberation, and for the discussion of various interests. Towards the evening of the 16th, the Compte d'Estaing returned an answer, in which he consented to this demand.‡ The two armies joined on the 17th, and formed separate but contiguous encampments.

It was during this parley, that the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, consisting of upwards of a thousand men, arrived from Beaufort. The enemy well knew, how important it would be to their interests to prevent this junction; and for that purpose, had attempted an enterprize, which proved unsuccessful, by their pilots refusing to undertake to place the French frigates in the necessary stations, for enabling them to cut off Colonel Maitland's communication with Savannah. Of this circumstance the Colonel availed himself: and after undergoing immense fatigues, joined General Prevost in the evening of the 16th, with five hundred men; and the remainder of his detachment arrived about noon the next day. As he found the enemy in possession of the ship-channel, the Colonel had been obliged to come round Dawfaskie, and land on the marshes; and after dragging his boats (empty) through a cut, got into the Savannah river above the French frigates, and from that came down to the town. A Council of War was held, in which it was determined to defend the place to the last extremity: and notice of this resolution was sent to the

* See Note 140, and there No. 3. † See Note 141, and there No. 4.

‡ See Note 142, and there No. 5.

the besieging Generals.* To this M. d'Estaing returned an answer.† Hostilities immediately recommenced: and the British tars could not refrain from giving three huzzas from their batteries. Both sides now exerted themselves with the utmost assiduity. When the town was first summoned, there were not above eight or ten guns mounted: but so indefatigable were the exertions of Captain Moncrieffe, the senior engineer in the place, in putting it in a proper state of defence, that, by adding the guns landed from the ships to those which were in store, he had, in the course of a few days, nearly ninety pieces of cannon ready to oppose to the enemy, as soon as their batteries should open. He had likewise erected many redoubts, batteries, and other works, to retard their progress. In all these operations, the soldiers and sailors, with the utmost cheerfulness, worked day and night in the face of hostile troops flushed with conquest: the enemy were greatly astonished at the activity of the garrison.

From the accounts given to M. d'Estaing of the situation of things at Savannah, he considered his success against it as certain. He had made repeated declarations to the Americans, that, as the season of the year was so far advanced, he could not remain more than ten or fifteen days on shore, lest his fleet should be injured on such a dangerous coast. The reinforcement which the garrison had received, reduced the besiegers to the alternative of either storming or besieging the town of Savannah. The latter plan was adopted, and they took their measures accordingly.

As it was apprehended, that the enemy's ships might come too near the town, and annoy the rear of the British lines, Captain Moncrieffe had some fire-rafts prepared, and in readiness to act against them, if they should make the attempt. It was also judged expedient, in order effectually to prevent it, to sink a number of vessels to stop up the passage. As his Majesty's ship the *Rose* was in so very bad a condition, that, by the report of shipwrights lately employed to survey her, she

* See Note 143, and there No. 6.

† See Note 144, and there No. 7.

she could not swim above two months; as her guns, ammunition, and stores, had been landed; and as her weight would keep her across the channel, when lighter vessels might shift, owing to the rapidity of the current, and to the hardness of its sandy bottom, in which they could have little hold, Captain Henry selected her as a vessel proper to be sunk. The Savannah armed ship, and four transports, were also scuttled and sunk, and by these the channel was blocked up. Above the town several smaller vessels were sunk, and a boom was laid across the river, to prevent the enemy from sending down fire-rafts among the shipping, or landing troops in the British rear. Previous to the vessels being sunk, the Fowey, Keppel brig, Comet galley, and Germain provincial armed ship, were got up to the town: and the latter having guns, was placed off Yamairaw, to flank the lines. While the enemy's batteries were getting ready to play against the town, three French frigates advanced up the river to Mud-flat. One of them, having twelve pounders, and two rebel galleys, carrying each two eighteen pounders in their prows, anchored in Five Fathom Hole; from which one of the frigates sailed into the back river, with a design to cannonade the rear of the British lines. She fired a great number of shot; which, being at their utmost range, did no execution. The galleys advancing nearer, did some damage to the houses; but a few shot now and then from the river battery, made them keep a respectable distance.

Two sallies, one of them on the 24th, commanded by Major Graham of the 16th regiment; and another on the 27th, commanded by Major M'Arthur of the 71st regiment; were admirably well conducted, did the enemy considerable mischief, and killed and wounded a great many of their best troops, while the loss on our side was very inconsiderable. In the first sally, Major Graham artfully drew the enemy into a snare, by which the French and the rebels fired on each other, and had near fifty men killed before the mistake was discovered.

The batteries played on every place where the enemy were perceived to be at work; and more than once obliged them to discon-

discontinue their labour. It was the third of October, before they opened any of their batteries: and then, about midnight they began to bombard from nine mortars of eight and ten inches, and continued the bombardment about two hours. At day-light, their fire commenced again from the nine mortars, and also from thirty-seven pieces of cannon from the land side, and sixteen from their shipping: and in this they persisted with little variation during several days. The execution done by this heavy fire, was much less than could have been imagined. It consisted in killing a few helpless women and children, and some few negroes and horses in the town, and on the common. On the 6th, the enemy threw some carcasses into the town, which burnt one wooden house: and about eleven o'clock, the General sent a letter, by a flag of truce, to M. d'Estaing, requesting permission to send the women and children out of the place, on board of ships and down the river, under the protection of a French ship of war, until the siege should be ended. After three hours, and a deal of intermediate cannon shot and shells, an insulting answer was returned by Messrs. Lincoln and d'Estaing, in which they refused to comply with this reasonable and humane demand.*

The garrison, undismayed by this brutal conduct on the part of their opponents, kept up a smart fire against them: and during the night were extremely busy in adding to their works, and in repairing such of them as had sustained damage. Thus things went on until the morning of the 9th; when, a little before day-break, after a heavy, and as usual, incessant cannonade and bombardment, the enemy attacked General Prevost's lines.

The attack began upon the left of his centre, in front of the French; and very soon after, upon his left and right. It was yet dark, and the darkness was increased by a very thick fog, which made it impossible to determine with precision, where the real attack was to be made, or how many assaults were intended. No reinforcements therefore were sent; but every thing was kept in readiness for that purpose, and the troops waited with the greatest coolness in their different posts, for the

* See Note 145, and there No. 8. and 9.

the approach of the enemy. Those in the lines were prepared to charge them, wherever they should attempt to penetrate : and the General had the greatest hopes, that the fire of the field artillery, which was placed to support the advanced redoubts, would enable him, while the enemy were entangled among these, to throw them into some confusion ; and, perhaps, with a good prospect of success, to order his corps de reserve to fall forth and charge them. The ground toward both his flanks, owing to its natural defects, which the utmost efforts of Captain Moncrieffe had been unable effectually to remove, was but too favourable for an enemy. On the right was a swampy hollow, by which they could approach under cover to within fifty yards of his principal works, and in some places still nearer ; and there, he supposed, that the rebels would make their assault. On the left, the approach was neither so well covered, nor of so great an extent as that on the right ; but as it was sufficiently large to admit troops to act, as the ground was firm and clear, and as it was near their encampment, he expected that the French regulars would make their attack there : but in this he was mistaken. A real attack did take place there : but the principal attack, composed of the flower of the French and rebel armies, and led by the Comte d'Estaing in person, assisted by all the principal officers of both, was made upon his right. Under cover of the hollow, they advanced in three columns ; but, owing to the darkness, took a wider circuit than they needed or intended to have done, and went deeper into the bog. These circumstances prevented them from beginning the attack so soon as they had concerted ; and besides occasioning a loss of critical time, produced considerable disorder in their ranks. The attack, however, was very spirited, and for some time obstinately maintained ; particularly at a redoubt on the Ebenezer road, which was a scene of hot action, great loss, and consummate bravery. Two stand of colours were actually planted, and several of the assailants killed upon the parapet ; but they met so determined a resistance, that they could not, with all their efforts, force an entrance. It was now, that the skill and design

sign of the defences raised by Captain Moncrieffe were fully displayed ; for, while the conflict was still dubious and bloody, the field-pieces, from three batteries which were manned by the sailors, took them in every direction, and made such havock in their ranks, that they were thrown into confusion, and compelled to make a pause. At this critical moment, Major Glacier of the 60th regiment, with the grenadiers of that corps and the marines, advanced rapidly from the lines ; in the most impetuous manner, charged the enemy with their fixed bayonets ; and plunging among them, into the ditches and works, drove them, in an instant, from the ditches of the redoubt, and from a battery a little to the right of it. Following up the blow, they forced them to fly, in great confusion, over the abbatis, and into the swamp. On this occasion, Captain Wickham, of the 2d battalion of the 60th grenadiers, greatly distinguished himself. When the grenadiers advanced, three companies of the second battalion of the 71st regiment were ordered to sustain them : and although they were posted at no considerable distance, and marched forward with the usual ardour of that corps, such was the rapidity with which the grenadiers had made their attack, and so precipitate was the enemy's retreat, that they could not come in for a share of the victory. One of the enemy's columns a little more to their left, in every attempt which it made to come out of the hollow, was repulsed by the brisk and well directed fire of a redoubt, where the militia were posted, aided by Hamilton's small corps of North Carolinians, who were on the right, and moved there with a field-piece to bear obliquely against it, while one of the seamen's batteries took it directly in flank. It was now day-light : but the fog was not sufficiently cleared off, to enable General Prevost to judge with any degree of certainty of the strength, disposition, or further intentions of the enemy on the right. On the left, and in the centre, the fog, with the addition of the smoke, was still impenetrably close : and a smart firing being still kept up there, the General thought it would be improper to draw from it, a number of
troops

troops sufficient to make a respectable sortie. By these means, an opportunity was lost of taking complete advantage of the confusion of the enemy, by charging them in their retreat; but they did not get off, without being severely cannonaded by the batteries and field-pieces, as long as they were in fight, or judged to be within reach. They were every where repulsed: and those on the left were only heard, being concealed from view by the thickness of the fog.

Lieutenant-Colonel de Porbeck, of Weissenbeck's Hessian regiment, was field-officer of the right wing: and being in the redoubt when the attack began, had an opportunity, which he well improved, of signalizing himself in a most gallant manner. It would not be doing justice to the different corps who defended the redoubt, if we neglected to mention them. They were part of the South Carolina Royalists; and the light dragoons dismounted, and commanded (by special order) by Captain Tawse, a good and gallant officer, who nobly fell with his sword in the body of the third man he had killed with his own hand. The loss on the part of the British in this battle, consisted of one Captain and fifteen rank and file killed; one Captain, three subalterns, and thirty-five rank and file wounded. The loss sustained by the enemy, as acknowledged by the French, was about a thousand or twelve hundred men killed and wounded; of these, they lost forty-four officers and seven hundred men: and the deserters, of whom there were a great many, all declared, that the loss on the part of the rebels was not less than four hundred men. Among the wounded was M. d'Estaing, (in two places) M. de Fontange, Major-General; and several others of distinction. Count Polaski, (who has been mentioned in the course of these Memoirs), a Colonel of cavalry in the rebel service, in making a desperate push at the British lines, was mortally wounded.

About ten o'clock, the enemy requested a truce, and leave to bury their dead, and carry off their wounded men. This was granted for those who lay at a distance from the lines, or out of sight of them: but those within or near the abbatis were interred

interred by the British. Their numbers were on the right, two hundred and three: on the left, twenty-eight. One hundred and sixteen prisoners, most of them mortally wounded, were delivered to the enemy. To this loss, considerable of itself, must be added, the numbers buried by them, the numbers who perished in the swamp, and many who were carried off by them when they retreated.

From this time to the 18th, nothing very material happened. Several flags of truce were sent during that period by the enemy, and a great deal of civility passed mutually between the French and British. Many apologies were made for their refusal to allow the women and children to be sent out of town: and the blame of this base conduct was laid, by a French Colonel, Compte O'Duin, entirely on the scoundrel Lincoln, and the Americans.* The offer was then made with great earnestness, that the ladies and children should be received by the Chevalier du Romain, on board of the Chimere; but the answer given to it was blunt and soldierly, that what had once been refused, and that in terms of insult, was not in any circumstances deemed worth acceptance. All the French officers seemed quite ashamed of this affair. As it was with them only, that the British had any intercourse after the repulse on the 9th, the sentiments of the Americans could not be so well known. But, as the letter was signed by d'Estaing, as well as by Lincoln, their imputing this harsh, cruel, and unprecedented refusal, entirely to the brutality of the American General, may serve to shew their consciousness, that it was altogether indefensible; but is by no means sufficient to exculpate the French Commander, from his share of the blame and disgrace, inseparable from it. An author,† who is extremely partial to the American cause, endeavours to defend this measure from motives of policy: "The combined army (says he) was so confident of success, that it was suspected, that the request of sending away the women and children, proceeded from a desire

* Compte O'Duin's own expression.

† Gordon, Author of the History of the American Revolution, vol. iii. p. 328, &c.

in the weak state in which he found them on his arrival, and before Colonel Maitland had an opportunity of throwing himself into the town. The second was, his not delaying the assault a little longer. He had carried on his sap within three hundred yards of the principal works of the besieged; and his superiority of numbers was such, that he was sure, in a very short time of approaching close to them. If they should wait to be attacked by assault, he was almost upon an equal footing with them: and if he should be repulsed, his men might be under cover in an instant, where they could rally, and commence the attack anew. He seems to have been chagrined and disappointed, that his cannon and mortars made so little impression on the British works; and to have trusted too much to the numbers and supposed goodness of the troops he commanded.

Never did troops more justly acquire a brilliant reputation, than those of the garrison of Savannah did, by their gallant defence of the place. The noble and steady perseverance manifested by all ranks, in exposing themselves to every fatigue and to every danger; the cheerful, yet determined spirit with which they set all the threats of the enemy at defiance; and their firm resolution of abiding, to the last man, by every consequence of an obstinate defence, met the highest approbation of their King and country. On this occasion, the British sea and land services seemed to be so firmly united, that it would be injustice to treat them as distinct departments. To mention, by name, all the officers who gloriously distinguished themselves in the defence of Savannah, would be to enumerate the whole. A few demand particular notice. Among these is the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel John Maitland of the 71st regiment, whose life seems to have been devoted to the service of his country. Fighting her battles, he had lost a hand in the East Indies; and at last, fell a victim to the climate of Georgia. Three days after the combined forces had raised the siege of Savannah, he died of a fever, occasioned by the fatigue he had undergone, in forming a junction with the garrison. Lieutenant

tenant-Colonel de Porbeck, and Majors Frazer of the 71st regiment, acting Quarter-Master-General, M^r Arthur, Graham, and Glacier, deserve also to be named. The naval Captains Henry, Brown, and Fisher, and Lieutenants Lock of the *Rose*, and Crawford of the *Fowey*, particularly distinguished themselves. A greater, or more highly merited encomium, cannot be passed on Captain James Moncrieffe, commanding engineer, than by using General Prevost's own words, in his public letter to the Secretary of State. "I would wish to mention Captain Moncrieffe, commanding engineer; but sincerely sensible, that all I can express will fall greatly short of what that gentleman deserves, not only on this, but on all other occasions, I shall only, in the most earnest manner, request your Lordship's taking him into your protection and patronage, to recommend him to his Majesty, as an officer of long service, and most singular merit: assuring you, my Lord, from my own most positive knowledge, that there is not one officer or soldier of this little army, capable of reflecting or judging, who will not regard, as personal to himself, any mark of royal favour, graciously conferred through your Lordship, on Captain Moncrieffe."

The loss during the siege, and various other returns, the reader will find in the Appendix.* The same activity and vigilance, extended itself throughout every rank in the British service. During the siege, the *Vigilant*, with the *Scourge* and *Vindictive* galleys, were obliged to remain at Callibogie, where Captain Christian of the *Vigilant* erected a battery on shore to protect them, and secured all the vessels in so strong a position, that the French and rebels thought it most prudent to desist from attacking them. As soon as the French frigates had gone out of the river Savannah, Captain Christian removed the fleet under his command from Callibogie to Tybee; nor were they long there before they performed a very important service. On the 4th of November, the *Myrtle*, navy victualler, which had been taken by the French, and converted into a watering vessel, being blown out of the river a few days before the enemy left it, returned to Tybee with a rebel galley,

in hopes of finding their friends; but the King's vessels there captured them both. The galley proved to be the Rutledge. She carried two eighteen pounders in her prow, and four sixes in her waist. Captain Henry had her purchased into his Majesty's service, named her the Viper, and gave the command of her to Mr. John Steele, master's mate of the Rose, until the Admiral's pleasure should be known. The gallant behaviour of Mr. Steele, at the battery on the spot where the French and rebels stormed the British lines, had pointed him out to Captain Christian as highly worthy of this favour.

The mention made by Captain Henry, in his public letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, of his brother Captains and officers, is very pleasing.—“ I now beg leave to acknowledge “ the particular services of Captain Brown of the Rose, before “ and during the siege, for his very spirited exertions on every “ occasion. Lieutenant Lock of the Rose, and Lieutenant “ Crawford of the Fowey, were very diligent, anxious, and “ spirited, during the whole business. Captain Fisher, who “ commanded the Savannah armed ship, acted as Brigade “ Major to the sea department, and while he continued in “ health, did his utmost to forward the service.

“ Captain Knowles, agent of transports, as soon as he was “ exchanged as a prisoner, served at the batteries: and Lieu- “ tenant Goldeſbrough of the Vigilant, by whose diligence “ and activity the King's troops were brought through Wallcut “ to Savannah, I have appointed to the Vigilant in the room “ of Captain Christian, who has the honour to present to you “ these dispatches. Captain Brown, late of the Rose, was to “ have carried them; but his extreme ill health prevents him.” This gallant officer died very soon after, much regretted.

“ Captain Mowbray of the Germain provincial armed ship of “ St. Augustine, who was stationed at Yamairaw to flank our “ lines, was very diligent in that service, and assisting Lieu- “ tenant Goldeſbrough in sinking vessels, and laying a boom “ across the river above the town. Mr. Tate, Master of the “ Nancy, and Mr. Watson, Master of the Tweed transports, “ deserve

“deserve very particular thanks for their constant services at
“the batteries: as also, Mr. Wilson, Master of the *Venus*,
“and Mr. M^cCurdie, Master of the *Neptune* transports. I
“must beg leave to mention the very spirited services of Mr.
“M^cDonald, mate of the *Este* transport, at this and former
“times.

“The Fowey’s cables that were worn, were cut up for
“wads; the consumption being great from the constant fire
“of the batteries, and her sails were used for tents. A bomb
“fell into her cabin, which broke the mizen-mast, and damaged
“her deck and stern frame, but not materially.”

The Comte d’Estaing, as soon as he cleared the land, sent back the troops he had brought with him to their respective garrisons in the West Indies, under convoy of some frigates; detached some ships of the line to the Chesapeake, under M. de Vaudreuil, and proceeded with the remainder to Europe. They were all overtaken by a terrible storm, and dispersed; but notwithstanding the miserable condition of the line of battle ships, they had the good fortune to steer clear of the British squadrons then at sea. M. de Vaudreuil’s ship was the only one of his squadron that got to the Chesapeake: the others were forced to bear away for Europe.

If the French and the rebels had proved successful at Savannah, there was great reason to believe, that they would have endeavoured to push their conquests farther; as the fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot was of too inferior a force, either to stop their progress, or to afford succour to any place that they should attack. The harbour of Rhode Island would have afforded M. d’Estaing’s squadron an asylum during the winter months: and General Washington was at hand with his army, and ready to assist the French in dispossessing the British of that post, while it would not have been in the Commander in Chief’s power to have given Sir Robert Pigot the smallest assistance. Sir Henry Clinton, therefore, resolved to abandon Rhode Island, and bring the garrison to New York, which he fortified with the greatest care. With this acquisition of

strength, and a strong reinforcement of recruits brought from Europe by Sir Andrew Hamond, he effectually secured that place, against any attack which the rebels, in conjunction with their allies, might make upon it. Sir Robert Pigot embarked his troops and artillery on the 25th of October, and arrived at New York on the 27th: and Sir Henry Clinton, as soon as he was informed of the repulse of the enemy at Savannah, set to work, and got every thing ready for an expedition against Charlestown in South Carolina, which was to proceed as soon as the Admiral should receive certain intelligence of the French fleet having left the American coast.

Such of the Squadron on this station, as were employed in cruising, were tolerably successful. The *Galatea*, Captain Jordan, took the *Revenge*, a cutter, and the *Saratoga*, privateers belonging to the rebels, of sixteen guns each. In March, the *Daphne*, Captain Chinnery, took, when cruising off Charlestown, South Carolina, the brig *Hornet*, a rebel privateer of sixteen guns and eighty men. By an exchange of prisoners, Captain Chinnery was enabled to man the *Hornet* to cruise against the enemy. He took also the *Oliver Cromwell* of twenty guns; the *Eagle* of twelve guns and forty-six men; the *General Maxwell* of ten guns and forty men; and the schooner *Modesty* of three guns and forty-three men, all rebel privateers. The *Experiment* took the *General Arnold* rebel privateer of twenty guns. The *Ariel* took the *New Broom* and *Resistance*, rebel privateers of sixteen guns each. Sir George Collier, while in the Chesapeake, took the *Black Snake* rebel privateer of sixteen guns; and on his way to Ponobscot, the *Nancy* of sixteen, and the *Royer* of ten guns, rebel privateers.

NEWFOUNDLAND STATION.

REAR-ADMIRAL EDWARDS commanded his Majesty's ships and vessels on this station, and gave very ample protection to the fishery.*

On

* See Note 147.

On the 14th of July, Captain Reeve of the *Surprize*, having received intelligence, that his Majesty's armed schooner *Egmont* had been that very day attacked and taken off Cape Spear, by a rebel privateer brig, immediately slipped his cables, and went in quest of her. Getting sight of her in the evening, he immediately gave chase, and came up with her about midnight, when she struck her colours. She proved to be the *Wild Cat* privateer of Salem, not ten weeks off the stocks, mounting fourteen carriage guns. When she came out, she had a crew of seventy-five men. Lieutenant Gardner and twenty of the *Egmont's* crew were found on board. Captain Reeve also took, while on this station, the *Jafon* and *Monmouth*, two rebel privateers: the former a ship of twenty guns, nine and six pounders, and one hundred and twenty men; the latter, a brig of twelve guns and sixty-seven men.

The Honourable Captain Codogan of his Majesty's ship *Licorne*, on the 31st of May, when escorting a convoy to Newfoundland, fell in with *l'Audacieuse* French privateer, of twenty-four guns and one hundred and ninety-four men, which struck after engaging him half an hour. The privateer had twenty-two men killed, and seventeen wounded, in the action. The *Licorne* had only one man wounded. On the 15th of June the Captain parted with his convoy, in lat. 48° 50' N. and long. 42° 48' W. in a violent gale of wind: and on the 19th, being in sight of the land near St. John's harbour, saw a ship to which he gave chase; and at two o'clock next afternoon came up with and took her. She proved to be a rebel privateer, called the *General Sullivan*, of twenty-four guns and one hundred and six men.

Captain Pasley of his Majesty's ship the *Sybille*, on his voyage from Newfoundland to Lisbon, fell in with and took the *Rambler*, a rebel privateer from Salem, of fourteen guns and ninety men; also the *Patagon*, a Spanish packet bound from the island of Teneriffe to Corunna, armed with sixteen guns, and fifty-five men.

MEDITERRANEAN STATION.

VICE-ADMIRAL DUFF commanded his Majesty's ships and vessels on this station.* The Montreal and Thetis frigates being on a cruize to the eastward of Gibraltar, on the 1st of May, were chased by two French ships of war.† The Thetis, being a remarkably fast sailer, had the good fortune to escape; but it did not fare so well with the Montreal. One of the enemy's ships coming close up, and firing some shot at her, she struck: notwithstanding which, they kept firing at her for near half an hour, by which several men were killed and wounded. Nor did they behave much better after they boarded the frigate; for the Frenchmen immediately broke open the stores that contained the liquor belonging to the officers, with which many of them got immoderately drunk. The frigate was carried into Alicant, where Captain Douglas and his crew were liberated. They were afterwards conducted to Gibraltar.

On the 10th of July, Vice-Admiral Duff, being at Gibraltar, received intelligence, that five xebèques, with a number of Spanish vessels supposed to be under their convoy, lay in the road of Malaga, and were soon expected to sail to the westward. He therefore ordered the Childers sloop immediately to proceed a few leagues to the eastward, to watch their motions and give notice of their approach. About four o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, the sloop came off the bay, with the signal flying. The Vice-Admiral instantly ordered the cables of the Panther and Enterprize (the only ships he had with him) to be slipped, and got under way. About this time, two of the xebèques had come near to Gibraltar, in chase of three cutter privateers, which had made prize of a settee, one of their convoy, which they were towing under the batteries at Europa Point: but notwithstanding that effort to rescue her, they succeeded in securing their prize. As soon as the xebèques observed that the ships were in motion, they hauled their

* See Note 148.

† The Victoire and Bourgogne of seventy-four guns each.

their wind and made sail for Ceuta. In their progress thither, one of them was fired upon by the Childers, and exchanged a few shot with her: on which the Vice-Admiral crowded sail in order to get to the assistance of the sloop; but there being little wind, and the enemy having the weather-gage, the xebecs soon got out of reach, and the night coming on, they and a few of their convoy escaped to their intended port. The other three xebecs, which, as well as the two former, mounted from twenty-six to thirty-two guns each, with some armed vessels, made off to the eastward, by which means their convoy was effectually dispersed. In the course of the night, the cutter privateers above-mentioned took three more settees, and the Childers destroyed another, nearly under the batteries of Ceuta. At day-break next morning, the Vice-Admiral gave chase with the ships, came up with and took two settees of the above convoy. Seeing that the two xebecs, (one wearing a broad pendant, and said to be commanded by Commodore Barcello, the son of the Admiral of that name,) had now secured themselves under the fortrefs of Ceuta, and that the rest of the convoy had escaped, he returned to Gibraltar with his little squadron and prizes. The prizes were laden with articles useful to that garrison; their cargoes consisting chiefly of wines, brandies, and some small quantities of bread and other provisions. This was a very fortunate circumstance for the garrison, for whose benefit the cargoes were bought; as were also those of eight other Spanish prizes, taken by his Majesty's ships on this station, and by privateers which had been furnished with letters of reprisal from his Excellency Governor Elliot. Their cargoes consisted of articles similar to those above enumerated.

The Enterprize frigate drove on shore, on the Barbary coast, a French privateer of fourteen guns and one hundred and fifty men. Her crew were taken prisoners by the Moors, for chasing some small trading vessels belonging to Gibraltar. The Enterprize afterwards took the Venus, an American schooner, with sixty-five hogheads of tobacco.

TRAN-

TRANSACTIONS AT AND NEAR HOME.

THE events which occurred in Britain and its vicinity, and which we now come to relate, are multifarious almost beyond example. It is therefore hoped that a little prolixity, necessary to set them in a clear and distinct view, may be forgiven. We shall first mention, the operations of fleets, and the military affairs connected with these; and next, give a particular detail of the many combats and other naval transactions, that occur in the course of the year.

Rear-Admiral Arbuthnot, having been appointed Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels on the North American station, sailed from St. Helen's, on the first of May, for New York, having under his convoy near four hundred sail of merchant ships, transports, and victuallers, escorted by four sail of the line, a fifty gun ship, a frigate, and a fireship.* Having received intelligence at ten o'clock next morning, that the island of Jersey was attacked, he thought it his duty to proceed immediately to its relief. He accordingly ordered the frigate with the convoy to Torbay, to wait his farther orders, and with the squadron steered across the Channel, and arrived at Guernsey on the 4th; where he learned, that the French had left Jersey, and that some ships of war had arrived there. He detached the Experiment to reinforce them; and on the 6th sailed from thence, to rejoin the convoy in Torbay.

This enterprise against the island of Jersey was undertaken by a person, who assumed the title of Prince of Nassau, and who has since figured as a military adventurer in the service of several potentates. Hoping to carry his point by a *coup de main*, he appeared off the island early in the morning of the first of May. His force consisted of five large vessels, and a great number of smaller ones, many of which were only large boats, on board of which was about two thousand five hundred men. They coasted along until they came to St. Owen's bay, where they attempted to disembark the troops. Their cutters and
armed

* See Note 149.

armed small craft, intended to cover the landing, came so near as to fire some grape-shot, and the boats with the troops were at hand to have pushed for the shore: but the prospect they saw of being warmly received, made them desist from the attempt, and draw off. As soon as this was discovered to be the fleet of an enemy, the alarm was given, and in a moment the militia flew to arms. Accompanied by a part of the Earl of Seaforth's highland regiment, then in garrison there, they made the greatest haste to the intended place of descent, and arrived in sufficient time to prevent it, having dragged some field artillery through the heavy sands, with which they cannonaded the enemy until they got out of reach of their shot. The Lieutenant-Governor of the island immediately dispatched to Portsmouth a quick sailing vessel, which fell in with Rear-Admiral Arbuthnot's squadron. The vessel proceeded on her voyage; and as the dispatches mentioned that the enemy continued in fight, Sir Thomas Pye, the commanding officer of the fleet at Portsmouth, ordered some frigates, under the command of Captain Gidoin of the *Richmond*, to sail immediately to the relief of the island. On their arrival at Boulé bay, they found the *Experiment*, Sir James Wallace, preparing to rejoin Admiral Arbuthnot, but detained by a contrary wind. On the 10th, Captain Gidoin received a letter from the Lieutenant Bailie of the island, informing him, that a fleet of French ships were seen near the islands of *Chausey*. Some small vessels were immediately sent to reconnoitre them, and they were soon plainly discerned from the heights contiguous to the bay. They consisted of three ships, one brig, and two sloops. They came to an anchor that night off *Coutances*.

The Captains, on consulting with respect to the best means of intercepting the French fleet, agreed that it would be most eligible to divide the naval force they had with them.* Accordingly, on the 12th, Sir James Wallace, with the *Experiment*, *Pallas*, *Unicorn*, *Fortune*, *Cabot* brig, and a lug-sail vessel, (the owners of which had voluntarily offered to send her with

* See Note 150.

with the King's ships,) proceeded round the west end of the island of Jerfey : and Captain Gidoïn in the Richmond, with the remainder of the frigates and vessels, and three more armed lug-sail vessels, (the owners of which had made the same offer as the former,) steered for Coutances' bay, where the French still continued at anchor. When the squadron under Captain Gidoïn had come within three or four leagues of them, the French Commodore made the signal to weigh, the top-sail yards were hoisted aloft with the sails furled. They were presently all under way, and not suspecting that another squadron was ready to intercept them, pushed with all their sails set towards St. Malo's. The British ships gave chase, but at ten o'clock that night, it being almost calm, and the tide against them, they were obliged to come to an anchor, in the narrow passage between Granville and the islands of Chausey. To men panting for action, with the enemy in sight, this unavoidable delay was a great trial of patience. The tide at last turned in their favour, at three o'clock in the morning of the 13th, and Captain Gidoïn made the signal to weigh. There was then very little wind, and that southerly, which obliged this little squadron, though with the greatest reluctance, to come to an anchor in the forenoon. At ten, they saw some ships over the islands of Chausey, and soon discovered them to be the division under Sir James Wallace, in pursuit of the French, then at anchor in Concale bay. This division had likewise been obliged to anchor in order to stem the tides; but getting round the island of Jerfey by seven in the evening of the 12th, it made sail all night for the French shore.

On the 13th, at day-light, a frigate was seen coming out of St. Malo's, and five or six others to leeward, standing for Concale bay. Sir James Wallace gave chase to the frigate; but she escaped, by running in under the protection of the forts and batteries of St. Malo. He then bore up, and chased those to leeward; but they went into Concale bay: and on being followed, ran ashore. Sir James Wallace run the *Experiment* directly in amongst them, and began a warm cannonade, which

which lasted about an hour and a half, during which, the crews of the French ships all left them; and the boats from the British ships, boarded and brought them off. The coast being alarmed, the militia repaired to their posts; and at this time, the enemy had brought cannon, howitzers, &c. and kept up so smart and well directed a fire, that it was judged proper to burn two of the French frigates, and leave a cutter scuttled on shore. The third frigate, viz. the *Danae* of thirty-four guns, a brig, and a sloop, were brought off. These were the ships which were to have co-operated with the *Prince of Nassau*. During the action, the *Experiment* was so greatly annoyed by a battery of six twelve pounders, that Sir James Wallace judged it expedient, as soon as possession was taken of the *Danae*, to silence the battery, in order to effect the destruction of the other frigates and cutter. The pilots having refused to take charge of the *Experiment*, he carried her up the bay himself; and laying his ship abreast of the battery,* silenced it in about three quarters of an hour: immediately on which, the crews of the two French frigates and cutter deserted them. The *Experiment* was hulled in several places, and her sails and rigging were much damaged by the shot. She had two men killed, and thirteen wounded. The Purser of the *Cabot* had his leg shot off, and two of her men were wounded.† The *Danae* was bought by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name. Captains Hamilton and Dodd, of the *Fortune* and *Cabot* sloops, were promoted to be Post-Captains; and Lieutenant Wallace of the *Experiment* was raised to the rank of Master and Commander.

Admiral Arbuthnot had no sooner rejoined his convoy, than the wind became contrary, and he was forced to remain in Torbay so long, that his being there could not fail of being known to the French Ministry, who were exerting themselves to the utmost, at Brest and Rochfort, to get ready for sea a large

* In doing this, the *Experiment* took the ground; but was got off without receiving any damage, when the battery was silenced.

† See Note 251.

large fleet, the command of which was given to M. d'Orvilliers. The British Ministry, suspecting that the French designed to intercept Admiral Arbuthnot and the valuable convoy under his escort, came to the resolution of ordering Vice-Admiral Darby, with ten ships of the line,* to accompany him, to see him fairly into the Atlantic ocean, and then return to Spithead. As soon as M. Sartine, the French Marine Minister, received certain intelligence of this measure, he hurried the fleet under M. d'Orvilliers to sea. Notwithstanding all his endeavours to procure them, he could not find a sufficient number of seamen to man the fleet; but neither this, nor the non-arrival of two ships of the line every day expected from Toulon, could prevail with him to risk losing the opportunity which presented itself, of either intercepting Admiral Darby on his return, or of being able to form a junction with the fleet of Spain, before the British could collect a force sufficient to block up the French in the harbour of Brest. Eight thousand land-forces were put on board, to supply the deficiency of sailors. The wind coming to the eastward, Vice-Admiral Darby sailed from Spithead, on the 24th of May, joined Admiral Arbuthnot and his convoy off Torbay, and proceeded to sea. On the 4th of June, M. d'Orvilliers and his fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail of the line, equipped as it was, sailed from Brest. When it became known that the fleets were at sea, and that the French fleet was greatly superior to the British, there was the greatest joy at Paris, where the capture or destruction of Admiral Darby's squadron was considered as certain. In these circumstances his escape, and safe return to England, was rather to be wished for, than expected. The French severely felt the disappointment; but were comforted, by soon after receiving advice, that the fleet of France had formed a junction with that of Spain on the 24th of June. If Britain had been able to send a fleet of sufficient strength to sea, in time to have prevented this event, in all probability, the Court of Spain would never have consented to take a part against her in the war with France and America.

* See Note 153.

America. Even as it was, it cost the Cabinet of Versailles great labour, to goad the Spanish Ministry to take the decided part they did, and to which they were bound to do by treaty. The salvation of France, they were told, depended upon it; and the state of the British navy was such, that they were sure to make an easy conquest of Gibraltar. The sailing of M. d'Orvilliers, so as to be able to effect a junction with the Spanish fleet, did the business; and convinced the Marquis d'Almodovar, the Spanish Ambassador at London, that he might proceed to deliver his manifesto, with the notice of his immediate departure.

Upon Admirals Keppel and Harland declining to serve, the command of the grand fleet was conferred upon Sir Charles Hardy, Admiral of the White; who had under him, Vice-Admiral Darby, and Rear-Admirals Digby and Sir John Lockhart Ross. With Admiral Digby, embarked his Royal Highness Prince William Henry, (now Duke of Clarence) his Majesty's third son, in order to be instructed in the duties of a seaman, and to be trained to the service of his country. The fleet put to sea on the 16th of June, and consisted of thirty-five sail of the line.*

When the rupture with Spain was declared, the Ministry exerted themselves to put the country in a proper state of defence. All the military force of the kingdom was called out, and stationed in such a manner, as was best calculated to be ready to oppose any descent, which the enemy might intend to make, or to succour any place which they might attack. Lord Amherst was appointed Commander in Chief of the land forces, under his Majesty; and every officer was ordered to his post. Lieutenant-General Monckton commanded at Portsmouth, where a brigade of infantry was encamped. Lieutenant-General Sir David Lindsay commanded at Plymouth, where one brigade of regular infantry, and another of militia, were encamped. Six regiments of cavalry were encamped at Salisbury, under the command of Lieutenant-General Johnstone; a large
body

* See Note 153.

body of militia, and two brigades of regular infantry, were encamped at Coxheath in Kent, under the command of Lieutenant-General Pierfon: another, of somewhat inferior size, was encamped at Warley in Essex, commanded by Lieutenant-General Parker. Some cavalry and infantry were encamped at Yarmouth in Norfolk, commanded by Major-General Phillipson. The troops on the north east of England were commanded by Lieutenant-General Lord Adam Gordon; and those on the north west coast by Lieutenant-General Haviland. Several small squadrons were likewise stationed at different parts of the coast.* In short, every precaution was taken to repel the threatened invasion from France, the shores of which, opposite to England, were lined with troops in large encampments, accompanied with numerous trains of artillery. We shall not trouble the reader, by reciting here, the many manifestos that were published by the Courts of Versailles, Madrid, and London, to convince the world, that they were under a necessity of taking the disagreeable steps to which they had recourse, in order to obtain justice. These would be too voluminous; and would besides, greatly interrupt the narrative now given: but as some of these papers are very curious, we have selected the most important, and placed them in the Appendix.† The Spaniards immediately blockaded Gibraltar by sea as well as land: and from the number of troops which they continued to march towards that place, and the large magazines which they were forming in Andalusia and the neighbouring provinces, it was foreseen that they meant to lay formal siege to that fortress.

The confederated powers, conscious that, until the British navy should be nearly annihilated, all their other schemes would be extremely precarious, were anxious to avail themselves of their superiority at sea, by crushing, if possible, her fleets, and therefore determined on an active naval campaign. The nation had great reason to be displeased on viewing its hazardous situation; and finding that, notwithstanding the great sums which

* See Note 154.

† See Note 155.

which had been expended, its navy was unable to contend with that of France and Spain. The people could not refrain from murmuring, that so little attention had been paid to the exertions of those powers, both to obtain so great a naval force as they had now acquired, and to train men of abilities to a professional knowledge of maritime affairs : and they considered it as no small aggravation to their distress, not only that they were deprived of the aid of the American seamen, from which they had reaped great benefit in former wars, but that this disadvantage was doubly felt, because the force of these men was now thrown as a positive weight into the scale of their enemies, and contributed greatly to increase the balance in their favour.

The chief command of the combined fleet was settled by their respective Courts : and when they left Cadiz, M. d'Orvilliers appeared as Commander in Chief. This, according to report, gave displeasure to the Spaniards ; and little cordiality reigned amongst them. After cruising some time on the coast of Spain, this immense armament steered for the coast of England, and appeared off Plymouth on the 16th day of August. It then consisted of sixty-six sail of the line, and thirty frigates, besides sloops, cutters, storeships,* &c. They soon evinced themselves to be enemies, by giving chase to the Marlborough and Ardent ships of war, which had just left Plymouth, and were on their way to join Sir Charles Hardy. The Captain of the former, suspecting them to be enemies, took such measures in proper time as enabled him, though closely pursued, to escape ; but the Captain of the latter, by his imprudence, suffered himself to be overtaken, and was obliged to submit : for which he was afterwards tried by a Court-martial, and dismissed the service.

If we except the little spurt of the French fleet, under M. de Rocquifeuille in 1744, which seemed to proceed merely from an incidental design, and in which they had very nearly fallen victims to their temerity, no instance had occurred, in the

memory of the oldest men living, in which the flags of an enemy had been seen flying triumphantly in the British Channel. But here the case was different : so great a naval force, and consisting of such capital ships, had never till now, been seen at once upon the sea. The country was greatly alarmed, but the enemy made no attempt to land : they paraded for some days off Plymouth, and a few of their ships came as high as Cawsand Bay. The wind coming easterly, and continuing so for several days, they steered to the westward, with a design, as they affirmed, to search for the fleet under Sir Charles Hardy, and to give him battle. They continued to cruize near the Scilly Islands, and in the chops of the Channel, until the end of the month. On the 29th of August, the wind coming in his favour, Sir Charles Hardy gained the entrance of the Channel, saw the enemy's fleet ; and, not knowing its numbers, prepared for action, and formed his line of battle. The weather was then hazy, and growing still more so, and night coming on, they separated ; but the enemy's guns were distinctly heard. Next day their fleet, or at least a part of them,* were seen by the British Squadron. The haze returned, and Sir Charles Hardy, having been joined by two cutters, which brought him an account of the enemy's strength, and orders to return to Spithead, continued to stand up Channel ; and in the evening of the 1st of September, anchored off the Eddystone, in order to stem the tide. It has been supposed, that he wished to draw the enemy after him to the narrow part of the Channel, where, if he was obliged to fight them, he could do it upon less disadvantageous terms than in a more open sea ; and where either a defeat, or certain changes of the wind, in a navigation with the intricacies of which they were little acquainted, might have been productive of the most ruinous consequences to their fleet.

As soon as the tide permitted, he made the signal to weigh anchor, and sailed up the Channel. At this time, several of the

* This was afterwards found not to be the combined fleet ; but a fleet of victuallers from Brest, looking out for it.

the headmost of the enemy's line of battle ships were seen some leagues astern of the fleet; and it would appear, that they had been aware of Sir Charles's design, as they never came any higher than the Lizard Point. Some of their frigates approached nearer to the rear of the British fleet: and coming rather close, Captain Johnstone in the Romney tacked, with a design, either of cutting them off, or of making them keep a more respectful distance; but, on observing this, they tacked, and stood towards their own fleet. On the third of September, the British fleet anchored at Spithead, where it was joined by several ships of the line. Never were seamen in higher spirits: and, while the strength of the combined fleet was reported to be only forty-eight sail of the line, they longed for nothing so much as an engagement; and notwithstanding the known superiority of the enemy, looked upon victory as certain. But sixty-seven sail of the line, for the enemy had added the Ardent to their fleet, was a strength with which the force under Sir Charles Hardy was not able to contend.

While the combined fleet was off Plymouth, the Cornish and Devonshire gentlemen acted with a truly patriotic spirit; and made offer, if the enemy should attempt to land, to march with ten thousand men to the assistance of the place, on a moment's warning. Sickness prevailed very much on board of the combined fleet, especially among the Spaniards. Some of their ships were almost disabled by it, others were much out of repair; and as the equinox was fast approaching, the Commanders thought it necessary, very early in the month of September, to enter the port of Brest, where they filled, not only all the hospitals with their sick, but many convents and churches in that neighbourhood. They returned no more during this campaign to the British coasts. As soon as they were in a condition to proceed to sea, Don Luis de Cordova returned to Cadiz, with the Spanish Squadron.

Thus ended this grand enterprise of France and Spain, from which so much was expected, and by which so very little was

achieved : and Great Britain was freed from the apprehensions she had entertained from this Invincible Armada.

Considering the immense naval force combined against it, the British commerce had this year some wonderful escapes. A few days before the enemies fleets entered the British Channel, a very valuable fleet of more than two hundred sail arrived safe from Jamaica ; and by timely notice having been conveyed to them, eight sail of homeward-bound East Indiamen were apprized of their danger, and took shelter in the river Shannon, where they remained until a strong convoy was sent, which brought them in safety to the Thames.

A rumour having been spread, that M. d'Orvilliers, when he was in the Channel, had detached six sail of the line, under M. de Treppe de la Touch, to Concale bay, where a very great number of transport vessels were assembled for receiving troops ; a fleet of observation was sent, under the command of Sir John Lockhart Ross,* to examine into the truth of it ; and if found to be true, he had orders to take or destroy them. Sir John shifted his flag from the Royal George to the Romney, and sailed from Spithead on the 14th of September ; but on reaching his destination, the report was found to be groundless. He returned to Spithead on the 26th, with the greatest part of his fleet, having sent the remainder to cruize to the westward. In the month of November, Captain George Johnstone was sent Commodore of a small squadron to the coast of Portugal : he hoisted his broad pendant on board the Romney.

Never did any war produce so many traitors, who took an active part against their country, as this. They consisted chiefly of outlawed smugglers, and had their residence at Dunkirk. They accepted commissions to command armed vessels from the French and Americans, and sometimes from both : and cruized on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, where they took a great number of prizes. Among these miscreants, we must once more introduce into these Memoirs, Paul Jones, whose depredations on the Scotch and Irish coasts last year,

* See Note 157.

year, so completely gained him the favour of his employers, that they gave him the command of a squadron of frigates,† with which he this year took a great number of prizes, and made a formidable appearance along the coasts of Ireland, Scotland, and the north of England. He first appeared off the south-west coast of Ireland, where he sent a boat ashore, in order to bring off some sheep; but the country people rose, seized his boat, and sent her crew prisoners to Tralee jail. Finding the Irish coast alarmed, they steered to the west coast of Scotland, where they were but too successful in making prizes, some of which were of considerable value, particularly one, a storeship for Quebec. Mr. Jones sent the prizes to France, and proceeded with his squadron, by the Orkney islands, to cruize off the east coast of Scotland. On the 14th they appeared off Dunbar, and were seen to take two vessels. It was extremely unfortunate, that there was no naval force on the coast, of sufficient strength to encounter this squadron of privateers. The coast was indeed alarmed, but that availed little, as he had obtained information, that there was no force at hand to oppose him; so confident was he of this, that he sent his smaller vessels and frigates on different cruizes, and proceeded with the *Bon Homme Richard* alone, up the Frith of Forth; was actually in sight of Edinburgh in the evening of the 16th, and, as the wind blew fresh from the west, came to an anchor a little below the island of Inchkeith, nearly opposite to Kirkcaldy, in order to stem the tide. Next morning, he weighed anchor and endeavoured to beat up to Leith Roads; but the wind increased to a very strong gale, which forced him, after springing his fore-top-mast, to give way and to drive down the Frith before the wind, with such speed, that in a few hours he was out of sight. From the prisoners who were then on board of his ship, it was afterwards learned, that his intentions

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† *Bon Homme Richard*, forty guns and three hundred and seventy-five men; *Alliance*, forty guns and three hundred men; *Pallas*, (a French frigate) thirty-two guns and two hundred and seventy-five men; *Vengeance*, armed brig, twelve guns and one hundred and seventy men; all in Congress service.

tions were, to burn the shipping in Leith harbour, and to pillage some of the defenceless towns on the Fifeshire coast. Being disappointed in these designs, he rejoined his squadron, and proceeded to cruize off the coast of England; where, on the 23d, he fell in with a British convoy from the Baltic, escorted by his Majesty's ship the *Serapis* of forty-four guns, commanded by Captain Richard Pearson, and the Countess of Scarborough armed ship, of twenty guns, commanded by Captain Thomas Piercy. Captain Pearson having received notice from the Magistrates of Scarborough, of a squadron of the enemy's being off the coast, he immediately made the signal for his convoy to bear down under his lee, and repeated this signal with two guns: but notwithstanding this, the van of the convoy kept their wind with all sail, standing to the southward from under Flamborough-head, till between twelve and one; when the headmost of them got sight of the enemy's ships, which were then in chace of them. They then tacked, and made the best of their way under the shore for Scarborough, letting fly their top-gallant sheets, and firing guns; on which Captain Pearson made all the sail he could, to get between the enemy and the convoy, which he soon effected. At one o'clock, he got sight of the enemy's squadron from the mast head; and about four, they were seen distinctly from the deck, their force appearing to be three large ships and a brig: upon which, he made the Countess of Scarborough's signal to join him; and at the same time, he made the signal for the convoy to make the best of their way, and repeated this signal with two guns. He then brought to, in order to give the armed ship time to come up and prepare for action. At half past five she came up: and the enemy's ships were then bearing down on the two British ships, with a light breeze at S. S. W. At six, Captain Pearson made the signal to tack, and laid the heads of his ships in-shore, that he might keep his ground between the enemy's ships and the convoy. Soon after this, he discovered their force to be a two-decked ship and two frigates; but from their position, could not see their colours. About twenty minutes past

past seven, the largest of the three ships brought to on the larboard bow of the *Serapis*, and came within musquet shot. Captain Pearson hailed them; and after giving some unsatisfactory answers, they fired a shot, which he returned with a broadside. After exchanging a few broadsides, Jones backed his topsails, and dropped upon the quarter of the *Serapis*, within pistol shot; then filled again; put his helm aweather, run on board upon her weather quarter, and attempted to board her: but being repulsed, sheered off. Captain Pearson immediately ordered his topsails to be backed, in order to get square with the enemy's ship again. As soon as Jones observed this, he filled, put his helm aweather, and laid the *Serapis* athwart hawse. His mizen-throwds took her jib-boom, which hung him for some time; but at last it gave way, and both ships dropped alongside of each other, head and stern, when the fluke of the *Serapis*'s spare anchor hooked the enemy's ship's quarter. They were now so close fore and aft, that the muzzles of the guns of each, touched the side of the opposite ship. In this position they continued the engagement, from half past eight until half past ten; during which time, the great quantity and variety of combustible matters, which the enemy threw in on the decks, chains, and every part of the *Serapis*, set her on fire in different parts, not less than ten or twelve times: and it was with the greatest difficulty and exertion imaginable, that the flames were repeatedly extinguished. During the action, the largest of the enemy's frigates kept sailing round the two engaging ships, and raking the *Serapis* fore and aft, by which she killed or wounded, almost every man on her quarter and main-decks. About half past nine, either from a hand grenade being thrown in at one of the lower ports, or from some other accident, a cartridge of powder was set on fire, the flames of which running from cartridge to cartridge, all the way aft, blew up the whole of the officers and men who were quartered abaft the main-mast. By this unfortunate circumstance, all the guns in that part of the ship, were rendered useless during the remainder of the action, and the

people were so miserably scorched, that many of them died. At ten o'clock, the men belonging to the enemy's ship alongside of the Serapis, called out for quarters, and said they had struck. On hearing this, Captain Pearson hailed the Captain, and asked him several times if he had struck; but on receiving no answer, he called for the boarders and ordered them to board the enemy, which they instantly did. As soon, however, as they were on board of her, they discovered a superior number of men lying under cover, with pikes in their hands ready to receive them. This obliged them to retreat as fast as they could to their own ship again. They returned to their guns, and renewed the action until half past ten; when the frigate came across the stern of the Serapis, and poured a broadside into her. Captain Pearson, having exerted his utmost endeavours in vain, found it impossible to bring even one gun to bear upon the enemy, or to extricate his ship from the disagreeable situation in which she was placed; and was, therefore, under a necessity of giving orders to strike: at which instant, his main-mast went by the board. He and his First Lieutenant were hurried on board of the enemy's ship, which proved to be an American rebel ship of war, called the *Bon Homme Richard*, of forty guns and three hundred and seventy-five men, commanded by Captain Paul Jones. The other frigate, which also engaged the Serapis, was the *Alliance*, of forty guns and three hundred men. When Captain Pearson was taken on board of Jones's ship, he found her in the greatest distress: her quarters and counter on the lower deck were entirely stove in, and the whole of her lower deck guns were dismounted. She was also on fire in two places, and had six or seven feet water in her hold. The water kept increasing upon the enemy all the night and next day, so that they were obliged to quit her: and she sunk, with a great number of her wounded people on board. She had three hundred and six men killed and wounded in the action.

While the Serapis was engaged with the *Bon Homme Richard* and *Alliance*, the Countess of Scarborough armed ship was attacked

tacked by a French frigate, in the service of Congress, called the Pallas, which carried thirty-two guns and two hundred and seventy-five men. Captain Piercy backed his main-topfail, in order to engage the attention of one of the frigates, which was then coming up : and when she got on his larboard quarter, she fired a broadside, which was immediately returned ; and the engagement continued for upwards of two hours. By this time, the armed ship had all her braces, and the greatest part of the running rigging, main and mizen-topfail sheets, shot away, and seven guns dismounted, four men killed and twenty wounded. Captain Piercy, on observing another frigate of the enemy's bearing down to engage him, was necessitated to strike.

The loss sustained by the Serapis in the action was very great : the killed amounting to forty-nine, and the wounded to sixty-eight. Amongst the former was the boatswain, a master's mate, two midshipmen, the coxswain, a quartermaster, twenty-seven seamen, and fifteen marines. Amongst the latter, the Second Lieutenant, Michael Stanhope, and Lieutenant Whiteman of the marines ; two surgeon's mates, six petty officers, forty-six seamen, and twelve marines.

A more gallant action is not on record : and so well pleased was his Majesty with the behaviour of the two Captains, and their officers and men, that he conferred the honour of Knighthood on Captain Pearson ; and soon after that, made Captain Piercy a Post-Captain, and promoted the other officers. The service they had performed was very great. By destroying its capital ship, they had entirely disconcerted the designs of this flying squadron of the enemy : and by their truly brave and well conducted defence, they had preserved a very valuable and important convoy, which otherwise must have been captured. So sensible were the Directors of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company, of their obligations to these excellent officers, for protecting the rich fleet under their care from the Baltic, that they voted their thanks to both : and as a farther testimony of their approbation, requested Captain Pearson's acceptance
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of a piece of plate worth one hundred guineas; and Captain Piercy's of another, valued at fifty guineas.

This squadron of Commodore Jones's had been fitted out at Port l'Orient, and left that port about the end of July. It had been very successful in making prizes, some of which had been sent to France, and others ransomed. At the time of the action, there were three hundred British prisoners on board of the rebel fleet. From the 23d of September, it continued beating about the north sea, without being able to reach any port, until the 6th of October, when it came to an anchor in the Texel road. Mr. Jones did not behave very well to his prisoners; he refused leave to Captain Pearson to muster his crew, and would not even permit him to go ashore, to wait on Sir Joseph Yorke, the King's Ambassador at the Hague. Sir Joseph, by his representations to their High Mightinesses the States General, prevailed on them to cause the wounded seamen belonging to the *Serapis* and the armed ship to be sent ashore; and farther urged them to detain, and to order to be delivered up, both the ships and their crews, which, he said, "the pirate Paul Jones of Scotland, who is a rebel subject, and "a criminal of the State, had taken." This request was refused: and the only effect of his remonstrances was, that they would not allow the prizes to be sold there, but gave orders that they should depart from their ports as they came. The States General did not, on this occasion, behave with that spirit and dignity, which such an old and faithful ally, as Great Britain had been to them, had a title to expect. Far from ordering the piratical ships immediately to leave their ports, they suffered them to remain: and it cost Sir Joseph Yorke a great deal of trouble, to procure the release of the prisoners they had on board, as they threw obstacles in his way, by calling themselves sometimes French, and sometimes Americans. The prisoners were, however, at last released: and the vessels, after being long blocked up, stole out of port in a dark night, and got to Dunkirk.

The appearance of Jones, in a two-decked ship in the Frith
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of Forth, gave a great alarm ; and Captain Burnet, of the *Prudent* of sixty-four guns, accompanied with some frigates,* was sent from Spithead to the protection of the Scotch metropolis. If this officer had been allowed to have spread his little squadron as wide as he could, when he got into the north sea, he would, in all probability, have intercepted *Commodore Jones* and his fleet, before they reached the *Texel* ; but his orders were, to make the best of his way, with the ships under his command, to *Leith Roads*.

Captain Pownall, of his Majesty's ship the *Apollo* of thirty-two guns, being on a cruise off the coast of France, early in the morning of the 31st of January, discovered ten sail, to which he gave chase, and soon perceived them to be a French frigate and a convoy. About half an hour after one, being then off *St. Brieux*, and within a mile or two of the rocks, he got close alongside of the frigate, and engaged her for an hour and a half, when she struck, and proved to be *l'Oiseau*, of twenty-six nine pounders on one deck, and two hundred and twenty-four men, commanded by the *Chevalier de Tarade*. She had sailed from *Brest* only on the preceding day, and was bound to *St. Malo*. The convoy, with some armed vessels, hauled their wind, and got within the rocks and shoals of the island of *Brehat*, by which means they made their escape. The enemy's loss in the action was very considerable. The *Apollo* had six men killed and twenty-two wounded, two of whom died soon after. Captain Pownall received a wound in his left breast from a musquet ball, and both the Lieutenants of the *Apollo* were slightly wounded.

Lieutenant William Knell, commanding the *Rattlesnake* cutter of ten carriage and twelve swivel guns, with a complement of sixty men, being on a cruise, got sight of two French cutters, at day-break on the 14th of March, about two leagues to windward, standing in for *Freshwater bay*, with the wind at W.S.W. He immediately wore, and made sail after them ; but on observing his approach, they made all the sail they could,

and

* See Note 158.

and stood out to sea, steering S. S. E. At half past one o'clock in the afternoon, being then within four leagues of Havre de Grace, the Rattlesnake came up with and engaged the largest cutter, which mounted fourteen carriage and twelve swivel guns, and had a crew of ninety-two men. The other cutter, called the *Frelon de Dunkerque*, mounted twelve carriage and ten swivel guns, had a crew of eighty-two men, and was deemed the fastest sailing cutter which the enemy had. She came up to the assistance of her companion : and the engagement with both was continued until four o'clock, when the largest one struck, and the other sheered off and endeavoured to escape ; but her intention being perceived, the Rattlesnake made after her, poured three broadsides into her, and, to prevent her from getting away by her superior sailing, immediately boarded, and by that means carried her.

Lieutenant Knell's men were now working hard, in splicing and refitting the rigging of their ship, which had suffered much in the action ; and while they were thus employed, the French cutter which had first struck, crowded all the sail she could, and as the Rattlesnake was not in a condition to pursue her, was lucky enough to effect her escape. Lieutenant Knell, (whose spirited conduct during the action could not be too much commended), was wounded, together with one midshipman and ten men. The Commander of the *Frelon de Dunkerque* and twelve of her crew were killed, and thirty were wounded, many of them mortally. It is conjectured, that the cutter who escaped must have lost many men, as she engaged the Rattlesnake a considerable time before she surrendered.

His Majesty was so exceedingly well pleased with the bravery and conduct shewn by Lieutenant Knell upon this occasion, that he was made a Master and Commander.

The Bee cutter, commanded by Lieutenant Nagle, took the *Invincible*, a French privateer of twelve guns, nine pounders, and one hundred and forty men.

The Kite cutter, of twelve guns and sixty men, commanded by Lieutenant Henry Trollope,* being on a cruize off Portland
on

* Now Sir Henry Trollope, Knight Banneret, and Rear-Admiral of the Red.

on the 30th of March, fell in with a French frigate, with which she exchanged a few broadsides; but the frigate, discovering a loaded brig at a little distance, left the Kite, pursued and took her. Lieutenant Trollope immediately set his people to repair the damages which his cutter had sustained: and while they were thus employed, he was attacked by a French brig privateer of eighteen guns, which in the engagement lost her main-mast and many men, and was rendered almost a perfect wreck. But by the help of a little breeze she got off, as the Kite, from the great damages which she had received from the frigate, and those which she sustained in this last action, was so very much disabled in her rigging and sails, that she could neither board her nor attempt to follow her. Fortunately, Lieutenant Trollope had only four men wounded. In reward for his gallant behaviour, his Majesty was pleased to order him to be immediately made a Master and Commander.

The Delight sloop of sixteen guns, commanded by Captain John Douglas, being sent express on some particular business by the Lords of the Admiralty, on the first of April, when off Dunose Point, fell in with and took, after engaging her upwards of an hour, the Jean Bart, a French privateer of twenty guns and one hundred and ninety men. On board the Delight, Mr. Randall, the boatswain, was killed, and two men wounded. Just as the enemy struck, the Jupiter, Captain Reynolds, came up, and took charge of the prize, which enabled Captain Douglas to proceed agreeably to his orders.

Vice-Admiral Lord Shuldham, commanding at the port of Plymouth, having received intelligence, that two French privateers had been seen on the 21st of March off the Lizard, immediately dispatched three frigates and a cutter in search of them: and next day, they luckily fell in with and took them. They proved to be the Friseur of twenty-four, and the Royal Louis of eighteen guns, both belonging to St. Malo, and surrendered without firing a shot: they had two ransomers on board.

On the 4th of April, Captain Robinson of the Shrewsbury, being

being on a cruize off the islands of Scilly, fell in with two large French privateers, to which he gave chase. By steering different courses, one of them escaped ; but the other, after a long pursuit, was taken. She proved to be the *Compte d'Artois* of twenty-six guns, viz. eighteen nine pounders and eight four pounders, together with two brass cohorns, and one hundred and sixty men, and belonged to Port l'Orient.

Captain James Montagu, of the *Medea* of twenty-eight guns, on the 18th of June, took, after an action which lasted an hour and a half, the *Duc de Lavaugnon*, a French cutter privateer from Dunkirk, of fourteen six pounders and ninety-eight men. The *Medea* sustained some damage in her rigging, but lost no men. The enemy had four men killed and ten wounded. The only prize which the privateer had taken, was a lobster smack from Norway for London, which she had ransomed for two hundred guineas. The ransomer informed Captain Montagu, that a vessel then in sight was a privateer, and consort to the prize ; but finding his rigging cut, he ordered the Countess of Scarborough armed ship to give chase, which Captain Piercy immediately did, and came up with her in a few hours, when she struck. She proved to be the *Compte de Maurepas* of Dunkirk, mounting fourteen four pounders, and had eighty-seven men.

The following gallant action redounds greatly to the honour of Captain Reynolds, (now Lord Ducie) of his Majesty's ship *Jupiter*. Being on a cruize off Cape Finesterre, on the 26th of May, he got sight of a large convoy, escorted by a fleet of war ships. These, he soon perceived to be French ; but resolved to endeavour to make prize of one of the convoy, in order to learn its destination and force. He accordingly made for one of the nearest ships ; and, although a large frigate kept firing upon him at a distance, he took her, and in hopes of being able to bring her with him, put five of his people on board of her, taking out of her eighteen Frenchmen. By this time, the whole of the enemy's fleet was alarmed, several large ships of war were in chase of him, and others were extending themselves

themselves on each side, with a view to cut off his retreat. Upon which he set all the sail he could, and made off: soon after, he saw his prize retaken. From his prisoners he learned, that the fleet was bound to the West Indies, and that it consisted of six line of battle ships and some frigates,* commanded by M. de la Mothe Piquet, with about eighty vessels under their convoy, laden principally with provisions and military stores; and having also some troops on board. Captain Reynolds and the master of the Jupiter were both wounded by splinters, occasioned by a shot from the frigate that first fired at them.

On the 6th of August, his Majesty's sloops Fly and Alderney, commanded by Captains Garner and Kempe, fell in with three French privateers, about eight leagues off Lowestoffe. Though each of the privateers was much superior in size to either of the sloops, an action immediately commenced; and the enemy who were only on the look-out for the packet-boats, soon sheered off, but were pursued directly. The Alderney, being a heavy sailer, could not get up to assist the Fly, which, after being warmly engaged for three hours, compelled the enemy to seek for shelter in Flushing. The force of the French consisted of one ship of twenty-four guns, and two of sixteen guns each. This gallant conduct of Captain Garner saved the packet-boats, and deservedly procured his promotion to the rank of a Post-Captain.

On the 14th of September, the Pearl, commanded by Captain George Montagu, cruising off the Azores, at six in the morning gave chase to a ship in the N. W. quarter; and at half past nine brought her to action, which continued for two hours, when she struck: the island of Corvo being then distant six leagues. She proved to be a Spanish frigate of twenty-six twelve pounders on her main-deck, and two four pounders on her fore-castle, with a crew of two hundred and seventy-one men. She was called the Santa Monica, and was commanded by Don Manuel de Nunes. The Pearl had twelve men killed and nineteen wounded in the action: and the enemy had thirty-eight

* See Note 159.

eight men killed, and forty-five wounded. The prize was a remarkable fine frigate, almost new, and much larger than the Pearl. She was purchased into the service, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name.

Captain Reynolds of the Jupiter, with some frigates under his command, on his way to escort a fleet of East Indiamen from the Shannon to England,* on the 2d of October, off the Lizard, fell in with and took two cutters belonging to the King of France, viz. *Le Pilote*, commanded by the Chevalier de Clonard, and *La Mutine*, commanded by Chevalier de Roquefueil, of fourteen six pounders, and one hundred and twenty men each. Proving very fine vessels, they were purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same names.

Captain Bickerton, of his Majesty's sloop the *Swallow*, in company with the sloop *Lively*, Captain Inglefield, after a smart action, took and carried into Milford Haven, the *Duc de Chartres*, a French privateer of twelve eight pounders, and one hundred men: and at the same time, retook the *General Dalling* from Jamaica, a prize which she had taken. The *Swallow* had one man killed and one wounded, in the action. The enemy's loss of men was considerable.

In the evening of the 19th of November, Captain Elliot Salter, of his Majesty's ship *Huffar* of twenty-eight guns, being in company with the *Chatham* of fifty guns, Captain Allen, convoy to the homeward-bound trade from Lisbon, observed a strange sail standing out of the fleet, and supposed her to be either a privateer, or one of the convoy that had been captured. He immediately gave chase, and came up with her in the night; but finding her to be a two-decked ship, he stuck close to her till day-light, when she hoisted Spanish colours, and began an engagement, which lasted three quarters of an hour, when she struck, and proved to be the *Nuestra Senora del Buen Consejo*, commanded by Don Juan Joseph Ezpeleta, a ship about eleven or twelve hundred tons, pierced for sixty-four guns, but
mounting

* See Note 160.

mounting only twenty-six twelve pounders, and having a crew of one hundred and twenty men. She was bound from Lima to Cadiz, but lost from Fyal; where, having received information of a war with Great Britain, she had landed her bullion to a very considerable amount. The remainder of her cargo consisted of copper, pewter, cocoa, a very large quantity of Jesuit bark, some beaver skins and minerals, besides private property. The Hussar had four men killed and ten wounded; and the enemy had twenty-seven men killed and eight wounded.

Commodore Johnstone, with the little squadron under his command, being on a cruise off Cape Finesterre, on the 11th of November, got sight of a ship to which he gave chase. The Tartar frigate coming up with her, and perceiving that she carried Spanish colours, immediately began a very close engagement, which lasted but a short time, for the enemy, seeing no possibility of escaping, surrendered, after firing a broadside or two. She proved to be the Santa Marguerita, a Spanish frigate of twenty-six twelve pounders and two six pounders, and had a crew of two hundred and seventy-men. She was commanded by Don Andrea de Viana, and had one man killed and three wounded in the action. The Tartar sustained no loss. The prize was purchased, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name.

His Majesty's frigate Quebec, commanded by Captain George Farmer, being on a cruise in the British Channel, in company with the Unicorn frigate and Cabot sloop, on the 5th of July, got sight of a fleet of French trading vessels, steering along the coast of Brittany, under convoy of a frigate and some armed ships, the whole amounting to forty-nine sail: the King's ships immediately made towards them with a press of sail. The enemy soon became sensible of their danger, and drew close to the shore, in hopes of reaching the port of Morlaix, before the British ships overtook them: but in this they were frustrated, by the Quebec and Unicorn coming up with the frigate and armed vessels and firing on them; but the enemy, rather than strike, run their ships on the rocks, where the greatest part of

them were wrecked; as the wind during the night came to blow hard, and right upon the shore, which obliged the King's ships to haul off, to avoid meeting with a disaster similar to the French convoy and their escort. Captain Farmer was not so fortunate when cruising of Brest in the Quebec, in company with the Rambler cutter, commanded by Lieutenant George, when, on the morning of the 6th of October, he got sight of three sail in the S.W. quarter; he soon made them out to be a ship, a cutter, and a Dutch hoy, and gave them chase: at eight o'clock, he found two of them to be a large French frigate and a cutter.* At nine, the enemy's frigate began to fire at the Quebec, but at too great a distance to do execution: at ten o'clock, Captain Farmer having got within point blank shot of the enemy, the Quebec returned the fire, and kept edging down in order to come to a close engagement. The Rambler cutter got between the French frigate and cutter, and by eleven o'clock brought the French cutter to action; and although this vessel was of much superior force to the Rambler, Captain George continued to engage her until near two o'clock, when the enemy set all the sail they could and made off, and his cutter had sustained so much damage in her sails and rigging, that she was unable to follow her with any prospect of being able to renew the fight. By this time, both the frigates were dismasted; and when the mast of the Quebec fell, the sails falling on the guns took fire, which presently set the ship in flames; on which, Lieutenant George endeavoured to get as near to her as possible, in hopes of saving some of her crew: at this time, there was but little wind and a great swell, all he could do was to send his boat, with the Master and five men armed in her, who picked up one master's mate, two young midshipmen, and fourteen men of the Quebec: the Rambler was

* The Surveillante of forty guns, M. de Couedic: she had twenty-eight eighteen pounders on her main-deck, and twelve twelve pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, and a crew of three hundred and fifty men. The cutter was the Expedition of sixteen six pounders, commanded by the Chevalier de Roquefucille.

was far to leeward, and her rigging in such a disabled state, that Lieutenant George, who made every exertion in his power, could not get nearer to her; and he was prevented from sending his boat a second time, by the enemy's frigate, who, contrary to every principle of humanity, fired on the Rambler's boat while on this duty, and from the guns of the Quebec going off as they got heated, so that to approach her became dangerous: she continued burning fiercely, with her colours flying, until six o'clock, when she blew up with a great explosion. Mr. Wilkie, the Clerk of the Quebec, was saved by a Prussian vessel, that was in company during the whole time of the action, and lay to all night to assist in taking up such of the Quebec's crew as they found swimming. Mr. Roberts, First Lieutenant of the Quebec, was taken up by the French frigate, whose Captain ordered several things to be thrown over, in hopes that some of the crew of the Quebec would lay hold of them; by this means, eleven men were saved. No men could behave with greater courage and conduct than Captain Farmer, his officers and crew, did in this action, against a ship of such superior force, which lasted near three hours and a half, both ships within pistol shot of each other, and had almost silenced the enemy's fire, whose ship had suffered so much, that her crew had great difficulty to prevent her from sinking, and were saved by their oars from sharing the same fate as the Quebec: they had a great number of men killed and wounded. Captain Farmer was wounded in the arm; and about eighty of the crew of the Quebec were killed or wounded: but Captain Farmer, with many of his officers and men, to the number of one hundred and fifty, lost their lives on this melancholy occasion. Lieutenant Roberts of the Quebec was promoted to the rank of Master and Commander: and in token of his Majesty's high approbation of the consummate bravery of Captain Farmer, he was pleased to create his eldest son a Baronet of Great Britain, and to order him to be promoted to a Lieutenancy in the navy.

His Majesty's ships Terrible and Ramillies, commanded by

Captains Sir Richard Bickerton and Thomas Allen, (acting) having been sent out to strengthen a convoy, until they should get beyond the range of the enemy's cruisers, on their return to England, fell in with a fleet of thirty sail of French merchant ships from Martinico, escorted by three frigates. They had received advice of this convoy from a neutral ship, with which the *Ramillies* had spoken on the 13th of April. Immediately on obtaining this information, they hauled their wind for that night, in hopes of making up with them: and next morning, they discovered a fleet from the mast-head, far to windward. As there was little wind during the day, the two ships did not get near them until seven in the evening, when the *Ramillies* got up, and took three of them. The frigates made off, and the whole convoy dispersed and separated. The *Terrible* took two of them that night, and two more next morning. They proved to be prizes of very great value, being on an average worth about 20,000*l.* each. The *Hekena* sloop of war was retaken by some of Sir Charles Hardy's fleet.

On the 24th of May, the fleet from Holland, when off the coast between Furnes and Dunkirk, fell in with two French privateers, the *Dunkirk* of eighteen guns and ninety-six men, and *Prince de Robeque* of sixteen guns and eighty men, both belonging to Dunkirk. The *Fairy* sloop, commanded by Lieutenant Cook, (in absence of Captain Frederick) gave chase to the former, came up with her, and after a short action took her: and the *Griffin* cutter, commanded by Lieutenant John Inglis, gave chase to the latter; and after two hours close action, obliged her to strike. The enemy had seven men killed and thirteen wounded. Only one man was slightly wounded on board the *Griffin*. On board the *Prince de Robeque* were five ransomers. For this gallant action, Lieutenant Inglis was promoted to the command of the *Zephyr* sloop.

On the 18th of March, his Majesty's ship *Arethusa*, commanded by Captain Charles Holmes Everitt, on a cruise off Brest, gave chase to a French frigate when close to that port. This being noticed from the shore, a ship of the line was sent after

after her, and gained on her very fast. Night came on, and the chance of escaping which Captain Everitt saw, was by changing his course to the northward. In making this attempt, his ship unfortunately run on a rock, near the little island of Molines, about three in the morning of the 19th: and there was just time to save the crew, before she went to pieces. It is very remarkable, that while the crew of the *Arethusa* were landing on the island, thirteen of them seized the six oared cutter; and without any provisions steered for England. On their way, they fell in with a Dutch ship, the master of which gave them a compass and some provisions, with the assistance of which they reached Fowey in Cornwall.

The following instance of disloyalty and perfidy has not its parallel in the annals of the navy. On the 29th of November, his Majesty's cutter *Jackall* was lying at anchor in the Downs, where Admiral Drake was also, with several other ships of war. Her commander and principal officers being ashore on business, a midshipman was left with the charge of the vessel: and early in the morning, a great majority of her crew mutinied, overpowered the remainder, got her under way, and carried her into Boulogne in France, where they sold her. Almost all the mutineers were composed of outlawed smugglers, who had been taken on the coast of Ireland, and impressed into the service. Several of them, who were afterwards made prisoners in different ships belonging to the enemy, were tried by a Court-martial for their offence, and sentenced to be hanged; and some of them died without the smallest signs of contrition. When the mutineers run away with the *Jackall*, they accomplished their design with so little noise, that the people on board the flag-ship, and other war ships at anchor near them, entertained no suspicions of their intention, until it was too late to pursue.

The enemy had a great number of very rich ships taken from them by privateers, as well as by the King's ships. Of these we shall particularize a few of the most valuable. On the 23d of October, the *Amazon* privateer of Liverpool, and the *Ran-*

ger privateer of Bristol, of sixteen guns each, being on a cruize off the Azores, fell in with the Santa Agnes, a Spanish ship of war of eight hundred tons, from the Manillas to Cadiz : she was pierced for forty guns, but mounted only eighteen, twelve and nine pounders, had one hundred and fifty men, and was commanded by Don Fernando de Reynosa. After a smart action of two hours she struck, having forty-seven men killed in the engagement, (thirty-three of whom lost their lives by an explosion of gunpowder) and many wounded. The privateers had only one man killed. This was by much the most valuable prize that had been taken in course of the war. She was deeply laden with gold, silver, silk, coffee, china, cochineal, and indigo : and carried also great private adventures, which were not registered. The value of the whole was supposed to exceed 300,000l.

The Dart privateer of Dartmouth, of fourteen four pounders and sixty men, took, in the end of October, a Spanish ship of six hundred tons, sixteen guns, and seventy men. She was called the N. S. Piedat : and surrendered after firing only two guns. Her cargo consisted of

142,117 silver dollars,
 38,949 dollars in gold doubloons,
 31 ingots of gold,
 5 ingots of silver,
 42 bales of fine beaver,
 21,061 hides in the hair,
 3 bales of fine wool,
 1 bale of fine fur.

Exclusive of the ingots of gold and silver, (the value of which is not known) the rest of the cargo, so far as it was known by the bills of lading, (though it was supposed there was more on board) amounted to 80,000l.

The Sturdy Beggar privateer of Liverpool took the La Saerta N. S. del Rosario, from Buenos Ayres to Cadiz, with skins, wool, &c. and about ten thousand dollars, valued at 50,000l. The Vulture privateer of Liverpool took the San Estevan, with
 a cargo

a cargo of tobacco, cocoa, hides, medicines, and some dollars, valued at 20,000*l*. The Shark privateer of London, and the Sprightly privateer of Guernsey, took the St. Francisco Xavier, a Spanish ship from the South Seas, of seven hundred tons burden. Her cargo consisted of three chests of doubloons, forty-seven chests of silver, two hundred thousand dollars, one chest of white silver, two hundred and seventy marks, nine small chests of gold, four hundred tons of cocoa, fifteen bales of furs, one hundred and fifty tons of bar copper, and many other articles; also, a copper anchor with a mahogany stock. The Active privateer of Poole took the Goree, French sloop of war, of fourteen four pounders and forty men, from Senegal to Rochfort.

To give some specimen of the losses sustained by the French and Spaniards, since the commencement of hostilities against the former, we shall select the account of the success of the privateers and letters of marque belonging to Liverpool, from that date till the month of May this year:

<i>No. of Prizes.</i>	<i>By whom taken.</i>	<i>Value.</i>	<i>No. of Prizes.</i>	<i>By whom taken.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
2	Wasp,	£. 15,000	1	Townside,	£. 30,000
2	Sarah,	28,000	1	Marchioness of Granby,	3000
5	Ellis and Grigson,	70,000	2	Ellen,	75,000
2	Lady Granby,	2,100	2	Terrible,	25,000
2	Mary,	21,000	2	Retaliation,	18,000
1	Brothers and Henry,	15,000	1	Hawke,	10,000
1	Little Ben,	16,000	1	Earl of Sandwich,	14,000
1	Mentor,	15,000	1	Dreadnought,	35,000
1	Molly,	16,000	1	Griffin,	25,000
4	Dragon,	9,500	1	Rumbold,	12,000
5	Bellona,	49,500	3	Jenny,	30,000
1	Catcher,	10,000	3	Knight,	170,000
3	Molly, (Siddon)	26,000	2	Viper,	26,000
2	Nanny,	3,500	5	Befs,	25,000
1	Arethusa,	2000			
1	Atalanta,	4000		Total,	£. 1,025,600

The French East India Company suffered very considerably this year; the following ships belonging to them being taken during the course of it:

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>From whence.</i>	<i>By whom taken.</i>
La Louise Elizabeth,	Mauritius,	Rover privateer of Bristol.
Le Compte d'Artois,	Ditto,	Ranger and Minerva do. of do.
La Favre,	Ditto,	Betsy letter of marque of Liverpool.
Le Marquis de Marbeuf,	Ditto,	Resolution privateer of Guernsey.
La Dugue Clain,	China,	

As the subjects of the States General still persisted in carrying all sorts of naval stores to the enemies of Great Britain, as well as in bringing home the produce of their colonies, the British Ministry also persisted in their plan of seizing all their ships, which they could find so offending. This raised a great clamour in the Dutch provinces, especially in those where the French faction prevailed. On the 12th of September, 1778, the merchants, proprietors of vessels, and exchange insurers of the town of Amsterdam, presented a Memorial to their High Mightinesses the States General, which contained many strong representations, on the subject of the grievance of the British seizing their vessels. They said, “besides the justice of these assertions, and the validity of their complaints, the taking of ships bound for the ports of France, not only induces your memorialists to solicit your High Mightinesses to interpose, and even to insist on immediate reparation for damages already sustained, and security for what may accrue. Your memorialists also cannot dispense with respectfully laying open to your High Mightinesses, the lamentable consequences which will result to the merchants, and of course to the State in general, in case the vessels and ships of the subjects of this republic, cannot be guarded against what are little short of acts of piracy:” they pray farther, “that it may please them to prevent the seizure of their ships bound to the ports of France by the British nation, against the faith of treaties, in open violation of the law of nations, in opposition to natural equity. In short, to prevent for the future, such extraordinary proceedings; to maintain the rights and privileges of the several inhabitants of this State, which they hold from God and nature, and on which the British nation are bound by the most solemn treaties to make no infractions.”

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The merchants and owners of ships of the town of Rotterdam, presented a Memorial to the like effect. It was not quite so strongly worded, but aimed at the same point. Mentioning the conduct of the British nation, they say, "that *the flagrant injustice of it, might be very easily proved by an appeal to the law of nations.*" But the strongest Memorial, presented to the States General on this occasion, was one from the merchants, proprietors of vessels, and exchange insurers of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Dordrecht. After enumerating their grievances, and immense losses, and contesting the right claimed by the British nation, they conclude with the following sentiments: "Finally, your memorialists firmly believe, that this State is neither deficient in power, nor that her inhabitants want inclination or courage, to maintain the independency of their republic against all unjust violence: and they also look on it as insufferable, that a nation, which owes the security and preservation of her civil and religious liberties to the assistance and co-operation of this republic, and which otherwise is united with her by ties of mutual and positive interest, should dare, against the first principles of natural equity, against all rules of right adopted by all civilized nations, and against the faith of all solemn treaties, for the reason only of CONVENIENCE; that this very nation, we say, should dare to cause so much trouble and prejudice to the commerce and navigation of this republic, and that in so notorious a manner, that the total ruin of individuals, and the entire decay of trade, as well as of navigation, must be the final result of their conduct."

The French faction insinuated, that the Prince Stadtholder was inclined to favour the pretensions of Great Britain. They accordingly endeavoured to keep up the spirit of opposition, to force the Dutch Administration to take some strong measures for the protection of their trade, and, if possible, to widen their breach with the British nation. Count de Welderen, the Dutch Ambassador at the Court of Britain, by desire of his Court, gave in to the British Ministry, the strongest remonstrances against

against the seizing of the Dutch ships. To these, the Earl of Suffolk, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, gave an answer to this effect: that the British would purchase the naval stores, pay the freight, and indemnify the proprietors; but that they were determined to prevent, as much as possible, all naval and military stores from being conveyed to the French ports. This declaration, however, was softened with an assurance, that all possible regard for the rights of their High Mightinesses should be had, and that the stipulations and spirit of the treaties, subsisting between the King and their High Mightinesses the States General, should be adhered to in the strictest manner, as far as it was practicable. This answer being transmitted to them by their Ambassador, was taken under consideration: and when the influence which then directed their Councils is considered, the determinations to which it gave rise will scarcely excite our wonder. When their resolutions were formed, various meetings were held in the different towns. On the 6th of November, 1778, the Burgomasters of Dort assembled their committee of merchants; on the 7th, the merchants of Rotterdam were called together; and on the 9th, the Council of Amsterdam summoned the committee of merchants of that city. These meetings were convened, for the purpose of hearing the resolutions of their High Mightinesses the States General, on the subject of the petitions for redress against the British treatment of their flag, and against the depredations committed on their property. The Count de Welderen's remonstrance, and the Earl of Suffolk's answer to it, being read to them, they were informed, that the resolution of the States was, not to enter into any negotiation with the British Ambassador on the points in dispute, but to continue to use all the means in their power, to obtain from the Court of Great Britain, not only ample, but exemplary satisfaction for the injuries done to their subjects, in defiance of the treaties subsisting between the two powers; and also to pursue such steps, as should prevent the repetition or continuance of the same grievances for the future. The committees of the above

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towns came to the same resolution on this business; and appointed one of their members respectively, to join the Pensionary and Secretary of each town, in a deputation to the Hague, with directions to thank their High Mightinesses for the resolution they had come to; and to inform them, that the merchants were determined also not to accept any terms: that they hoped their High Mightinesses would insist on the restitution of the ships and cargoes, so unjustly seized, by order of the King of Great Britain, contrary to the faith of treaties, and the rights of Sovereigns; and that they would lose no time in putting their marine into such a state, as to afford them protection, and to vindicate the honour of their flag against all affronts. For this end, they reiterated their willingness to pay the taxes, necessary and equal to the support of a respectable armament. To this their High Mightinesses, by their President, made a reply, in which they informed the deputation, "That such measures had been already taken, as would meet the wishes of so respectable a body of their subjects; that an augmentation of twelve ships of the line and twenty frigates, besides the twenty-five ships formerly ordered, had been determined on; and that, till the proper mode of proportioning and raising the expence could be devised, they had ordered their treasurer to open a loan of four millions of florins, at two and a half per cent. which was already raised more than two fold by subscription."

The resolutions which the States General had adopted, did not prevent the British Ministry from continuing their orders, for the commanders of his Majesty's ships to exert themselves in capturing all vessels carrying warlike or naval stores to the enemy; but in order to dispel the storm which seemed gathering, Sir Joseph Yorke, the King's Ambassador at the Hague, on the 22d of November, 1778, presented a Memorial to their High Mightinesses the States General, in which he, by the King's direction, proposed a conference with them, upon what was most proper to be done respecting the articles of complaint. This offer they declined, and insisted upon the literal and strict observance

observance of the treaty between them and Great Britain.

It must be observed, that the Court of Versailles stepped in at this time, to avail itself of the misunderstanding that subsisted between the Courts of London and the Hague ; and endeavoured, by all the means in its power, to accelerate an open rupture between them. The French King had, in the month of July, 1778, issued an arret, in which he formed regulations concerning the navigation of neutral vessels, reserving to himself the power of revoking the advantages then granted by the first article, if the belligerent powers should not grant the like, within the space of six months. As this had not been done on the part of Great Britain, he accordingly ordered such a revocation with respect to the subjects of the States General ; but in order to reward such of them as had publicly taken measures, and exerted themselves, to persuade their High Mightinesses to obtain from the British Court ample security of unlimited liberty of commerce, the citizens of Amsterdam were excepted ; and this was, sometime afterwards, extended to the other parts of the province of Holland. The design of the French was clearly seen through : and their conduct on this occasion is supposed to have caused Sir Joseph Yorke, on the 9th of April this year, to present to the States General a Memorial, in which, by direction of the King, he says, that the literal and strict observance of the treaty insisted upon by them, is pronounced incompatible with the security of Great Britain, and contrary to the spirit and stipulations of all future treaties between the two Courts. The King also informed them, that he cannot depart from the necessity he is under, of excluding the transportation of naval stores to the ports of France, and particularly timber, even if they should be escorted by ships of war ; but his Majesty flattered himself, that he should never be obliged to take other measures toward the republic, than those which friendship and good harmony may dictate.

The taking of the Dutch ships, laden with warlike stores, was a measure of sound policy, and distressed the French very much, particularly at their principal seaports, where the
scarcity

scarcity of naval timber was so great, that it had retarded for a considerable time, the repairs of M. d'Orvilliers's squadron. Such was their situation at the beginning of this year. They then got a supply by some storeships, which fortunately arrived to their assistance from Holland. Until April, they had not a mast for the *Ville de Paris*; her old ones having been rendered useless in the sea-fight of July 27th, 1778.

The Dutch, thinking to elude the vigilance of the British ships of war, prepared a large convoy, laden with all sorts of naval and military stores for France: and to put it out of the power of ordinary cruizers to prevent it from reaching its destination, they ordered Vice-Admiral Count Byland to escort it, with two ships of the line and three frigates. The British Ministry got notice of the sailing of this fleet, and were determined to intercept it: for this purpose, Captain Fielding of his Majesty's ship *Namur*, as being a man on whose abilities, address, and resolution, they could depend, was detached with several ships of the line, some frigates, sloops, and cutters,* from Spithead, on the morning of the 31st of December. In the evening of that day, one of the frigates made the signal for seeing a fleet to windward; on which, Captain Fielding made the signal for a general chase. In a few hours he came up with it, and found it to be a fleet of Dutch merchant ships, under convoy of Admiral Byland. He then sent the *Courageux* to the Dutch Admiral, to let him know, that he wished to speak with him: and to bring him close to the *Namur*, he immediately ordered out his barge, and sent Captain Marshall of the *Emerald* on board Admiral Byland, with his compliments, begging to know to what port the fleet was bound; and at the same time, requesting permission to search the merchantmen, agreeably to his orders. To this the Admiral very respectfully answered, that the Dutch ships of war were bound to different stations in the West Indies, and the merchantmen to various ports in France. Most of them, he acknowledged, were laden with hemp and iron, but none with timber or cordage. He added,

* See Note 161.

added, that he must beg to be excused from permitting them to be searched, as his orders were positive to the contrary. The Dutch Admiral sent his Captain (Byland) back with Captain Marshall, who reported this answer to Captain Fielding: and he replied, that he hoped Count Byland would think better of it by next morning, when he would be under the necessity of renewing the application.

The two fleets kept company together all night, and at day-break next morning, Captain Fielding once more sent Captain Marshall to Count Byland, with a more pressing message than the former; adding, at the same time, that he was determined to search the vessels at all hazards. To this Count Byland replied, that he was sorry matters were likely to be brought to such extremity; for that, if boats should attempt to board any of the vessels under his protection, he could not fulfil his duty without firing on them. About nine o'clock, Captain Fielding made the signal for the *Emerald*, *Daphne*, *Seaford*, and *Hawke*, to send boats to examine the Dutch merchant ships, and to row down to them with colours flying in each boat. This order was instantly obeyed; but no sooner did the Dutch Admiral see the boats approach his ships, than he fired a shot at them. Captain Fielding immediately fired a shot from the *Namur*, ahead of the Dutch Admiral, which the latter returned with a broadside. The former did the like, and made the signal to attack the convoy. A few shot passed between one of the Dutch frigates and the *Valiant*; when Count Byland, finding himself unable to contend against so great a force, struck his colours, and all the rest of the Dutch ships of war followed his example. Fortunately, no lives were lost on either side. Captain Fielding immediately sent an officer on board of the Dutch Admiral, requesting him to hoist his flag again, and to pursue his voyage; but informing him, that he would carry the merchant ships with him to England. The Admiral returned for answer, that he thought himself bound to share the same fate with his convoy, and should therefore proceed with them; but if Captain Fielding would make his request in writing, that

that he should hoist his colours, he would certainly comply with it. This being immediately done, the Dutch Admiral and his Squadron displayed their colours, and saluted the British Squadron with thirteen guns, which was returned by Captain Fielding, who immediately proceeded with his seven prizes to Spithead. On his way to that port, he captured two more Dutch ships in the same predicament. The Dutch ships and cargoes were all condemned, and turned out very valuable prizes. Admiral Byland and the war ships were allowed to depart.

We shall conclude our account of this business for the present by remarking, that the transaction which we have just now related, however trifling it may appear to be, was productive of two very serious and important events, highly detrimental to the interest of Great Britain, viz. the rupture with the States General, which this and some subsequent incidents certainly accelerated, and the Armed Neutrality.

The navy, this year, sustained considerable diminution : for, besides the loss of the Ardent of sixty-four, Experiment of fifty, Serapis of forty-four, Montreal of thirty-two, Ariel of twenty-four, and Sphynx of sixteen guns, the Weazle sloop, and Countess of Scarborough armed ship, which we have already mentioned as falling into the enemy's hands, the Thorn of sixteen guns, the Elephant and West Florida, sloops of war of fourteen guns, Hope of fourteen, York of twelve, Diligent of ten, and Haerlem of ten guns, armed vessels, and Holderneffe cutter, had likewise the same fate, and the Jackall cutter was carried off by a mutinous crew ; but of these, the Ardent, the Sphynx, the Thorn, the Elephant, the Hope, and Jackall, were retaken in the course of the war. The Glasgow of twenty guns, and Supply armed ship, were destroyed by fire. The The Rose of twenty guns, and Savannah armed ship, were sunk by the British at the siege of Savannah. The Quebec of thirty-two guns was burnt while engaging a French frigate ; the Hussar of twenty-eight guns was wrecked near Hell-gate ; the Penelope of twenty-eight guns foundered in the West Indies ;

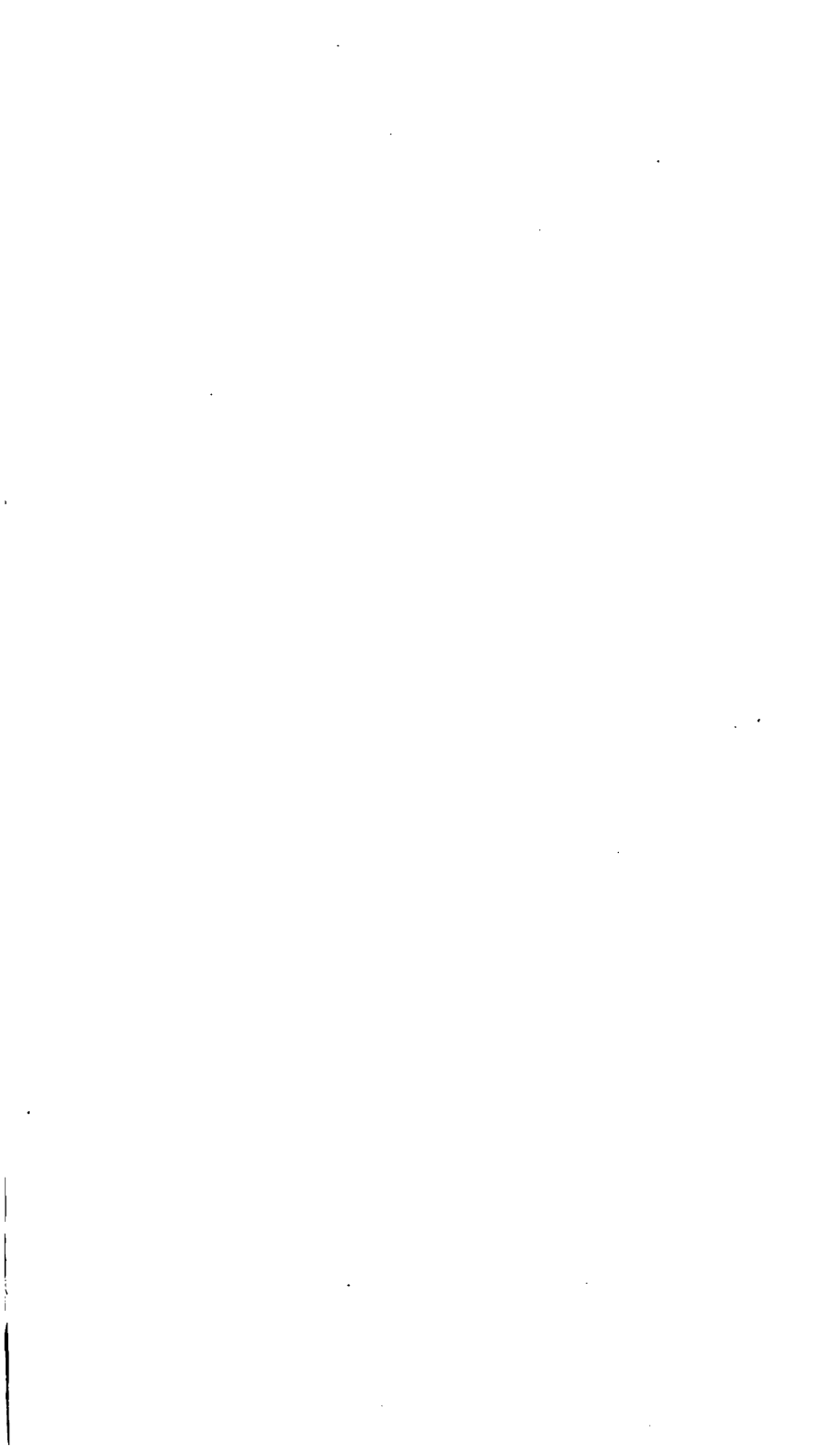
Indies; the North sloop of sixteen guns was wrecked near Halifax harbour; the Viper sloop was wrecked in the river St. Lawrence, as was the Tapageur cutter of fourteen guns in the West Indies: and of the crews of the Penelope and North, not a man was saved. The Leviathan and Tortoise, storeships of thirty-six guns, foundered in the Atlantic, but the crews of both ships were saved.

The enemy made some very considerable prizes: but the only one of great value was the Osterley East Indiaman homeward-bound, valued at 300,000*l*. She was taken off the Cape of Good Hope by two French frigates, which, after landing the crew (who were treated with great politeness and generosity) at the Cape, carried the prize to the Mauritius.

There were added to the Navy this year :

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Alcide,	74	Danae, <i>f.</i>	32
Edgar,	74	L'Oiseau, <i>f.</i>	32
Montague,	74	Santa Marguerite, <i>s.</i>	36
Adamant,	50	Santa Monica, <i>s.</i>	36
Ulysses,	44	Brilliant,	28
Acteon,	44	Cyclops,	28
Endymion,	44	Pegasus,	28
Fortunée, <i>f.*</i>	42	Sybil,	28
La Prudente, <i>f.</i>	38	Vestale, <i>f.</i>	28
Alcmene, <i>f.</i>	32	Champion,	24
Blanche, <i>f.</i>	32	Pandora,	24
Cerberus,	32		

* Those marked *f.* were taken from the French: those marked *s.* were taken from the Spaniards.



JUN 28 1963

